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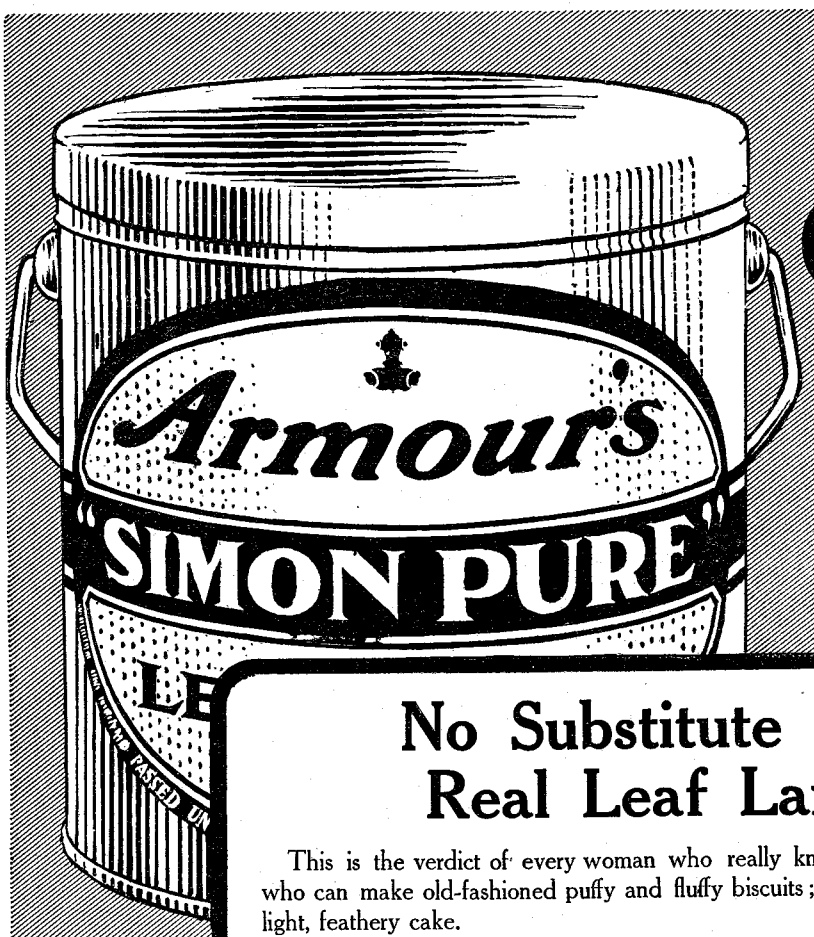

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The Outlook

AUGUST 5, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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CONTROLLER BAY: THE PRESIDENT'S ACCOUNT OF THE ORDER

President Taft, in a Message to the Senate of the United States, has defended his course in throwing open to private entry a tract containing 12,800 acres of land on Controller Bay near the Bering coal-fields of Alaska. When the significance of the President's order eliminating this tract from the Chugach National Forest was generally realized, the widespread concern over the menace to the publicly owned natural resources of Alaska, which had been allayed by the decision disallowing the Cunningham claims, was newly aroused. The President has sent his Message with the purpose of reassuring the American people that the alleged danger of monopoly is not a real danger. He therefore has not only set forth at some length the facts about Controller Bay, but has taken pains to explain fully and candidly the reasons for his action. As the President says in his Message, "the importance of Controller Bay is that it lies about twenty-five miles from very valuable coal deposits known as the Bering Coal Fields." It is in these coal-fields that the Cunningham claims, the chief subject of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy that has proved so disastrous to the Taft Administration, were located. The maps printed on the following pages will, we believe, help the reader to see, first, the relation of these coal-fields and the bay to the Pacific States; and, second, the relation of Controller Bay itself to the coal-fields, the boundaries of the tract eliminated from the National Forest, the location of railway routes and the claims for terminal sites, the nature of the harbor, and the relation of this to the neighboring roadstead, Katalla Bay. Briefly stated, the history of the Executive order eliminating the tract from the Forest, as related by the President, is as follows: Just before Mr. Pinchot ceased to be Forester, Mr. R. S. Ryan applied for the elimination of enough land to enable the railway company he represented to secure a site for terminals, bunkers, shops, etc., on the north shore of the bay. The question was referred to the Forestry Bureau, to the Navy Department, to the Secretary of Agriculture, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to the General Land Office. Mr. Graves, who had meantime become Forester, reported that he had no objection to eliminating 18,000 acres, but the final recommendation was that the elimination be limited to 320 acres. An order was drawn up to this effect. The amount being small, the provision, frequent in such orders, that it take effect only after thirty days following its issuance, was omitted. The President, however, felt that a grant of a tract like this to a single railway company was not desirable, and, besides, there was no room on such a tract for a terminal railway town. So, on his own initiative and on his own responsibility, the President enlarged the proposed elimination from 320 to 12,800 acres. The order was issued on the 28th of October, 1910. He did not notice that the provision for a thirty days' public notification was not reinserted, but, as the President points out, a correspondent of a newspaper in Seattle stated that the news of this order was given "wide publicity ten days before it was issued," and on the day of the order official news bulletins about the order were given to the press.

CONTROLLER BAY: THE PRESIDENT'S EXPLANATIONS

Before issuing this order the President was assured that the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate had no connection with the

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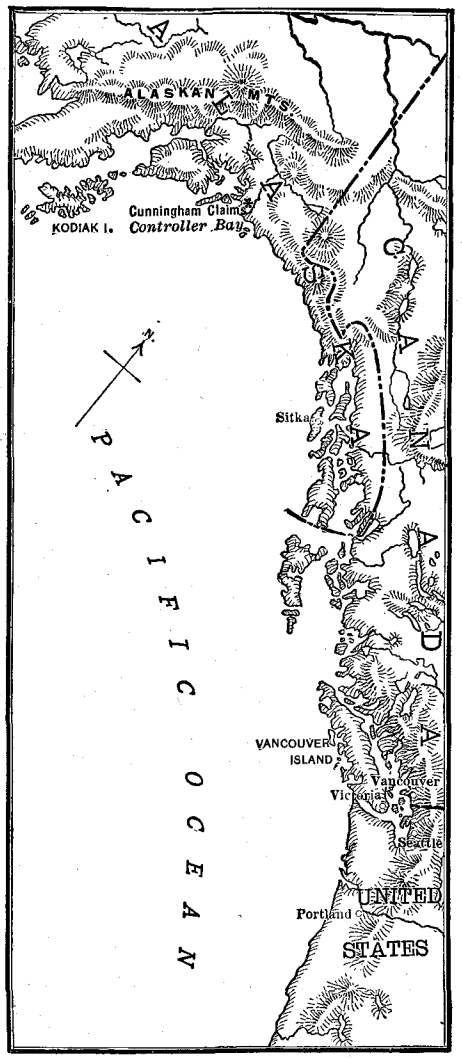

railway which Mr. Ryan represented. With regard to this matter we quote the President's own words:

Of course it was possible that the owners of the Copper River Railway Co. might attempt to buy this railroad when, and if, it was built. It was possible that Mr. Ryan was acting in the interests of the Copper River Railroad, although I did not believe it; but, whether this was true or not, it was clear that the order of elimination by reason of the restrictions of the act of Congress hereafter explained, would not permit the owners of either railroad to shut out any other capitalists who might desire to construct a railroad from the channel of Controller Bay to the coal-fields; and if by this order we could secure the construction of a railroad from Controller Bay to the coal-fields, it would be a distinct step in the useful development of Alaska. The rates of freight for coal to be charged, of course, would always be subject to Congressional control, and if Government ownership seemed a wise policy under the peculiar circumstances, ample land for right of way, harbor frontage, and terminals must always remain available under the law for Government use, or if it is preferred to take over to the Government a railway built by private enterprise, condemnation is easy.

The thing which Alaska needs is development, and where rights and franchises can be properly granted to encourage investment and construction of railroads without conferring exclusive privileges, I believe it to be in accordance with good policy to grant them.

What the President further says, with the purpose of showing that the order was reasonable and right, may be reported under three heads: first, the need of town sites; second, the reservation to the Government of certain strips of land; and, third, the control reserved to the Government of the shallow waters. On the first point the President says that in such a forest reservation "there is no opportunity to secure town sites or proper terminals for a coal road and shipping point," and he points out that under President Roosevelt several areas, on the recommendation of Mr. Pinchot, around the centers of small towns or settlements were eliminated, as were over thirty thousand acres of water-front on a harbor known as Valdez Arm. In connection with this he points out that already the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate have a railway route from the Bering coal-fields, and that the only effect, in his opinion, of preventing railway construction at Controller Bay "would be to leave the field entirely to the Copper River Railroad," which is the railway that is owned by the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate. As to the third point, the President calls attention to the fact that, even if the claims on the eliminated tract should be finally allowed to pass to patent, the owner would not have access to deep water, for, as can be readily seen by reference to the map, there is a stretch of mud flats between the shore line and the ship channel. With regard to the building of trestles over these flats the Government retains absolute control. The President refers to a court decision which establishes this general principle. He concludes, therefore,

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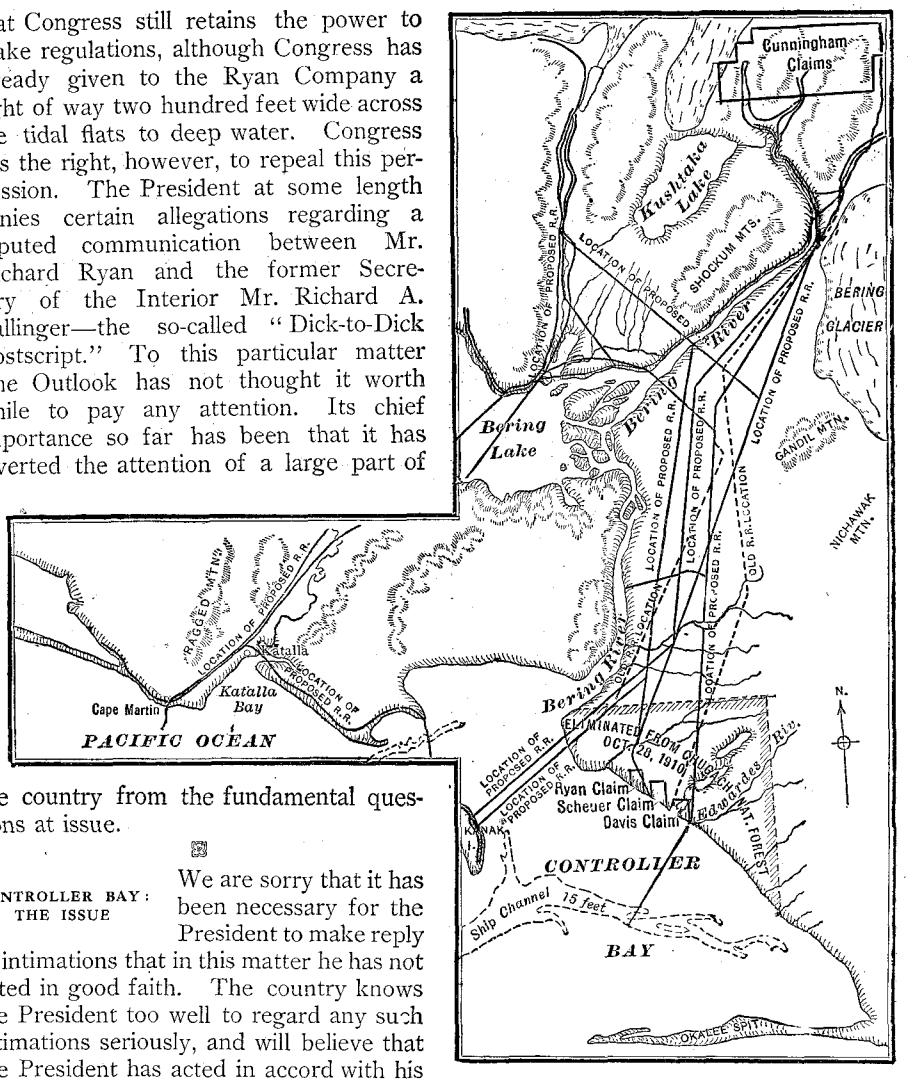
that Congress still retains the power to make regulations, although Congress has already given to the Ryan Company a right of way two hundred feet wide across the tidal flats to deep water. Congress has the right, however, to repeal this permission. The President at some length denies certain allegations regarding a reputed communication between Mr. Richard Ryan and the former Secretary of the Interior Mr. Richard A. Ballinger—the so-called "Dick-to-Dick Postscript." To this particular matter The Outlook has not thought it worth while to pay any attention. Its chief importance so far has been that it has diverted the attention of a large part of the country from the fundamental questions at issue.



CONTROLLER BAY: THE ISSUE

We are sorry that it has been necessary for the President to make reply to intimations that in this matter he has not acted in good faith. The country knows the President too well to regard any such intimations seriously, and will believe that the President has acted in accord with his own high sense of duty as he states it in this sentence: "But a public officer, when he conceives it his duty to take affirmative action in the public interest, has no more right to allow fear of unjust criticism and attack to hinder him from taking that action than he would to allow personal and dishonest motives to affect him." The Outlook wishes that every public man could in this particular deserve the popular confidence that Mr. Taft has won for himself. To give cordial and hearty acknowledgment of the good faith of a public officer, however, is one thing; to believe that the policy pursued by that public officer is enlightened, wise, and statesmanlike is quite another. In this Controller Bay affair the President has acted with the best of intentions, but he has made, we believe, as we said two weeks ago, a grave mistake. A hurtful action is just as hurtful when made with good intention as when made with bad intention. The harmful thing about this elimination of land on the shore of Controller Bay is not that anybody intended to do harm, but that the land was eliminated. Every such elimination must be judged on its own merits or defects, and not with relation to any supposed precedents. This is particularly true with regard to the elimination of land on Controller Bay; first, because of the intimate relation between that bay and the great coal-fields

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to the north, and, second, because of the severe lessons which both the Government and the people of the United States have had occasion to learn concerning Alaskan affairs during the past two years. In particular, it was unfortunate that this elimination should have been made without the usual interval between the official announcement and the going into effect of the order, since it is perfectly clear that the unofficial announcements in the newspapers could not serve to protect the public interest. To imagine that a monopoly in coal and in the transportation of coal in Alaska can be avoided by giving a chance for one railway to be built in competition with another railway, that monopoly can be avoided because some tracts of land are still left open for filing, is to give evidence of failure to understand the nature of the problem. The President says in the course of his Message, in justification for this elimination, "there is thus ample room for many other railroads to reach high-water mark on Controller Bay, and there to acquire tracts for terminals." Granted that there is room for them, there is no possibility that "many other railroads" will be built in that stretch of twenty-five miles. The President has acted on the assumption that the only way that transportation can be secured is by handing over land in fee simple to some railway company. That assumption is without warrant. The key to the whole situation in Alaska lies in the terminal, and the key ought to have been kept in the hands of the Government. The President points out that, if harm comes, it can be undone. The true policy —and, in fact, the only really effective policy—would have been to prevent the harm from coming. Suppose a railway is built down to the shore land, can any one suppose for a moment that the public would tolerate the Government pursuing a dog-in-the-manger policy by preventing the company from building trestles across three and a half miles of mud flats? Suppose a railway is built from the coal-fields to deep water; it is conceivable that the Government could authorize the building and leasing of a rival road, but then there would be two roads where there is need for but one, and the consumer would pay the cost. Finally, as to the town site question, it may be true that heretofore under the jurisdiction of the United States towns have not been built on leased public land. That furnishes no reason why they should not be. Indeed, the growth of communities on Government land in the Panama Canal Zone might furnish a precedent, if precedent is desired. And even if for any reason the building of towns on leased land is not desirable, it is perfectly possible to set apart a town site without throwing open land that borders navigable waters. The conditions in Alaska are new conditions, and they call for new methods. The trouble is that the President has trusted advisers who have proved untrustworthy. The Controller Bay affair is, we hope, the last legacy of the Ballinger régime.

RECIPROCITY. Following the action of the House of Representatives, the United States Senate has now passed the Reciprocity Bill, and the lobbyist foes of the measure have moved from Washington to Ottawa, where the bill still awaits action by the Dominion Parliament. In March, 1910, President Taft suggested the possibility of Reciprocity between the United States and Canada to Mr. Fielding, Dominion Minister of Finance. The President met the Canadian Minister at Albany and conferred with him in regard to the adoption of a maximum and minimum treaty under the new Tariff Law. In this conference the President expressed the desire that the negotiations between the United States and Canada might go beyond the mere adjustment of a maximum and minimum agreement and consider the feasibility of Reciprocity. The Canadian Minister responded favorably, and in the following autumn formal negotiations were undertaken. On January 26 of this year an agreement was formally reached between the negotiators of the two Governments, and on January 27 the President sent it to Congress with a special Message urging the enactment of the necessary legislation. The House acceded to this request, and on February 14 passed a Reciprocity Bill authorizing the Agreement by the impressive vote of 221 to 93. The Senate failed to concur, and the President summoned Congress to meet in extra session to act in the matter, issuing his call on March 4, within half an

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hour after the life of the regular session had expired without action on Reciprocity. The first vote on the bill came in the House on April 22, when again the measure was passed by an augmented majority, namely, 267 to 89. The Senate resisted two months longer to a day. The opposition there, as disclosed in the final vote, of 53 to 27, was made up of an equal number of Republican Regulars and Republican Insurgents, together with a smaller number of Southern Democrats. The conduct of the Republican Regulars and of the Southern Democrats was not so surprising as was that of the Republican Insurgents, whose course in this matter has done little to advance the cause of Republican Progressivism as represented by the Progressives in the Senate.

PROBABLE EFFECT OF THE LAW

The President is to be applauded for generously praising his political opponents, as he has done. And the Democratic party, under the leadership of Mr. Underwood, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, is also to be applauded for giving cordial support to a measure urged by a Republican President. Without that support the measure could not have been carried. In fact, in the Senate, the Republicans, Regular and Insurgent together, gave more votes against the measure than in support of it—24 nays to 21 yeas. The Reciprocity Bill is not a perfect measure. It will work some injustice, or at least some hardship, in certain quarters. But, as The Outlook has heretofore pointed out, a compact between two great communities never can be accomplished without working some hardship to individuals in each community. The general good in the establishment of freer trade relations between Canada and the United States, if the measure is adopted by the Canadian Parliament, will, in our judgment, greatly overbalance the disadvantages to some individual industries. The notion that the passage of such a bill tends to political union between Canada and the United States, although this has been urged on both sides of the border, is one which, in our judgment, need not be taken seriously. Political union between the two communities is not now, and is not likely to be in the future, desirable for either. The passage of this bill is, however, the first serious break in our high protective policy—a much more serious break than that made by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill. It will give an impulse to the movement for lowered tariffs and for a reconsideration and readjustment of the whole protective tariff legislation. The passage of the bill is, in some ways, ominous to the Republican party, because it has emphasized the division in the Republican party, on the one hand, and has shown an unexpected unity of sentiment and action in the Democratic party on the other. Nowhere more than in politics is demonstrated the truth of the motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." The old-time division between Bryan and Cleveland Democrats on the money question has disappeared, though it may reappear in some other form; meanwhile a division between the Regulars and the Progressives in the Republican party on the tariff has made its appearance. We believe, too, that this is the first time in our history that what is in effect a Reciprocity Treaty has been accomplished without any treaty. There was no formal international bond between Canada and the United States in this legislation. There was simply what may be called a gentlemen's agreement that Canada and the United States would simultaneously pass tariff measures, each giving to the other some trade advantages. Either community may, as we understand the facts, repeal the legislation enacted this year without any new agreement with the other community. The agreement, so far as it is an agreement, stands only so long as both parties to it are willing it should stand. The President has shown political skill in thus getting popular opinion, as expressed by the action of the House, developed and organized to carry through a reluctant Senate an agreement which it is hardly probable could have been carried through as a treaty.

THE INTERBOROUGH RULES ITSELF OUT

The Interborough Company has persisted in excluding itself from the operation of any of the new subways to be built in New York City.

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After repeated patient conferences by the McAneny Transit Committee with the Interborough officers, the final demands of the Interborough were so unfavorable to the city's interest that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment voted to grant to the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company the entire system of new subways which has been planned. This system includes subways in all the five boroughs of the city, the routes in the most congested portions—namely, on Manhattan Island—including a trunk line on the Lexington Avenue route, and a subway from Fifty-ninth Street south on Broadway. Contracts have already been let for several sections of the Lexington Avenue line, and the actual work of construction may begin any day. The vote of the Board of Estimate assigning the new subways to the Brooklyn Company does not mean that any contract has been signed with that Company for the operation of those lines. It does mean, however, that there is, as the President of the Brooklyn Company has said, a "moral obligation" upon both the city and the Company that when the lines are built their operation will be assigned to and undertaken by the Company upon certain understood terms. As a consequence, the plans for the new routes will be so drawn as to make the new lines fit in with the existing lines of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit, with the natural result that it would be difficult for any other interest to make a profitable bid for their operation. The Interborough has only itself to thank for the outcome. It persisted in demanding its pound of flesh, and received—an empty dish. This solution of the subway tangle, though it would doubtless have been a better solution if the Interborough could have brought itself to see reason, is more satisfactory than the city had any reason to hope a year ago. Credit for it is due to three men on the Board of Estimate—Comptroller Prendergast, President of the Board of Aldermen Mitchel, and, conspicuously, Borough President McAneny—and to the Public Service Commission. The solution has been reached practically without the assistance of—in fact, we are almost justified in saying, against the opposition of—Mayor Gaynor. In the early stages of the negotiations he was all in favor of the Interborough proposal at a time when the Interborough was demanding everything and offering the city nothing. When the proposal of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit had been accepted in so far as one-half of the new subways is concerned, the Mayor suddenly denounced the proposed agreements with both the Brooklyn Company and the Interborough, and stood apparently willing to throw the entire matter into chaos once more. Certain of the proposed routes which have not yet received the official approval of the Board of Estimate and the Mayor may be held up if Mayor Gaynor refuses his approval. He has intimated that he may take this course, a course which would at least do serious damage to the system as planned. If the Mayor has made any definite comprehensive suggestion for a better solution of the subway problem we have not seen it. On the supposition, which ought to be the only tenable one, that he is working for the best interests of the people of New York, his course is incomprehensible. It has been consistent in only one respect: throughout it has been such as would give aid and comfort to the Interborough interests.

SEASIDE PARKS FOR NEW YORK CITY

A Seaside Park Committee, of which Mr. Jacob A. Riis is Chairman, might be expected to "do things." This is now evident in the action just taken by the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It has approved the acquirement not only of one but of two seaside parks. Those who are interested in extending the possibilities of health-getting and those who are interested in extending the domain of municipal art as shown in proper city planning should be equally delighted at these decisions. The regions in question are those of Coney Island and Rockaway. As to the first, the Board of Estimate adopted the report of a committee which recommended the acquirement of a tract of land along the ocean frontage of about a thousand feet; and as to the second, upon the advice of another committee, decided to acquire two hundred and fifty acres at Rockaway. About a decade ago the Association for Improving the Condition

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of the Poor started at Sea Breeze, Coney Island, a hospital, with room for forty-five patients, for children who were crippled with bone tuberculosis. Long experience has shown that the only chance of possible cure for these children is at the seashore, in an institution where they can live both summer and winter. Such success followed the establishment of the Sea Breeze Hospital that over a quarter of a million dollars was contributed by citizens to New York to erect a hospital to hold six or eight times as many patients as Sea Breeze can contain. The money was given with the understanding that the city was to furnish the site. We are glad to say that the city seems about to do its duty. Of course, tardy action is better than none at all, but it is almost incredible that, alone among cities so located, New York should have neglected its opportunities to provide seaside parks for the people. While the Coney Island site has a comparatively small ocean frontage, the Rockaway Seaside Park stretches a mile along the beach, and thus offers opportunities for the erection of convalescent hospitals for the poor, one of the crying needs of the metropolis. The pressure upon our hospitals is always so great that patients must be sent away before they are fit to take up the battle of life again. A brief respite on the seashore would mean to them, and those dependent on them, all the difference between hope and despair. Already one or two hospitals have announced their intention to build convalescent pavilions on the seashore as soon as the site is in hand, these pavilions to be under the city's management. This is one purpose which the Rockaway Seaside Park will serve. In addition, as a great playground for the people it will have few equals.

IN THE LAST DITCH

The Prime Minister, common representative of the majority of the British people and of the British Crown, standing for three-quarters of an hour before the House of Commons unable to make himself heard for more than a few words at a time; from the Opposition benches a riotous throng of members pelting him with epithets, jeers, and scornful question, "Traitor! traitor!" "Hurrah for Redmond, the real leader," "Keep the King out of politics!" "Who killed him? You did!" "Toe the line;" and these disturbers, reckless of every principle of parliamentary decency, neither wild Irishmen nor unpolished Labor members, but representatives of the party of aristocracy and property and social traditions; the Speaker unable to restore even a semblance of order, and finally compelled to invoke the rule which empowers him, "in case of grave disorder," to declare the sitting adjourned on his own responsibility—it was an unprecedented spectacle for the Parliament of the British Empire on Monday night of last week. The Premier had risen to reintroduce the Parliament Bill, returned from the House of Lords with unacceptable amendments, and a portion of the House was determined that he should not be heard if tumult and insult could prevent him. The leaders of his Majesty's Opposition have bowed themselves to the inevitable, and have let it be known that they will cease to fight against the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords. But a fragment of the party, led by the venerable Earl of Halsbury and the Earl of Selborne in the Lords, and by such young fire-eaters in the Commons as Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. F. E. Smith, are counseling the policy of dying in the last ditch. The outbreak in the House of Commons last week was a protest from these "last-ditchers," as they have come to be called, and at that moment their opposition probably reached its high-water mark. Their strength is apparently dwindling with every day that passes. The Government's course is clear. The Parliament Bill is to be enacted into law, without the creation of new peers if possible, by the aid of the creation of as many of them as may be necessary if the issue is forced. The Government's position is impregnable. Its majority in the House of Commons is as solid as a rock; and in a letter to Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Asquith announced that, "in the circumstances, should the necessity arise, the Government will advise the King to exercise his prerogative to secure the passing into law of the bill in substantially the same form in which it left the House of Commons, and his Majesty has been pleased to signify that he will consider it

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his duty to accept and act on this advice." But the Prime Minister will not send the bill a second time to the House of Lords until either he has received assurance from the Opposition that its passage will not be opposed or a sufficient number of peers have been created to insure its enactment. Lord Lansdowne, the Opposition leader in the House of Lords, has urged upon his associates the policy of not voting when the bill is again presented, but unless he can secure enough acceptances of this proposal so that the body of irreconcilables will not be large enough to outvote the Liberal peers, the Crown will be called upon to act. The recalcitrancy of a comparatively few peers in the upper chamber, and the bad manners and bad sportsmanship of the youthful minority of the Opposition in the Commons, will do their cause and their party nothing but harm. The veto of the Lords is gone. The Unionist party would do well to lock its ranks for the next encounter.

THE WILLIAM PENN MEMORIAL

There has just been dedicated in London a memorial to William Penn—a tablet in All Hallows Barking, one of the most interesting of London churches. Visitors to the "City" have long been familiar with the plain brick tower culminating in a turret and weather-vane, marking the corner of Tower Street and Seething Lane where stands the church of All Hallows Barking, so called from being an ancient possession of the convent of Barking in the county of Essex. In King Stephen's day the original building was known as "Berkingcherche." Like many other English buildings, it embodies different architectural periods: the massive pillars at its western end are Roman, and contrast strikingly with the slender columns of the eastern arches, which were probably erected in the fifteenth century; finally, the church is ornamented in the Tudor fashion. Penn was christened at All Hallows in 1644, having been born a few days before on Tower Hill, close by. In 1666 All Hallows escaped from the Great Fire, but only just escaped, as Pepys relates in his diary:

> About two in the morning my wife calls me up and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking church, which is at the bottom of our lane. . . . But going to the fire I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke-lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking church and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw.

The church, reputed to contain the best collection of monumental brasses in London, has now another memorial in the tablet erected by the Pennsylvania Society, and unveiled in the presence of many members of the American colony in London and visitors from America, together with the Lord Mayor, Lady Mayoress, and other distinguished Londoners. After a short service conducted by Dr. Robinson, Vicar of all Hallows, Colonel Robert M. Thompson, President of the Pennsylvania Society, made an address, calling attention to Penn's character in holding closely to his Quaker tenets amid the untoward influences of the dissolute Courts of Charles II and Louis XIV. Though trained in the arts of war, Penn became an apostle of peace, and, what is more, refusing the manifold temptations of a life of peace, went out into a savage wilderness, where he labored for the common good, founding on the banks of the Delaware a City of Brotherly Love. Thus, as Colonel Thompson well said, the moment when we are near to a covenant of peace and amity binding England to that kindred nation of which Penn was one of the heroes is certainly a fitting one for the sons of the State he founded to dedicate a memorial to his memory.

CROSS-COUNTRY 'PLANING

America invented the aeroplane, but Europe is using it. To the Wright brothers belongs the lion's share of the credit for establishing the fact that men can fly in machines that are heavier than air. A group of European aviators, with Frenchmen prominent among them, is rapidly gaining the credit for establishing the fact that a man may take his aeroplane and go where he will, when he will, with safety and despatch. At long intervals on this side of the water, we have had a single exploit like that of Glenn Curtiss in his flight from Albany to New York, or

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of Harry Atwood in his flight from Boston to Washington; but already this year they have had in Europe half a dozen cross-country races varying in length from four hundred to twelve hundred miles. In each race there have been several starters; in all of them at least one, and often more contestants have finished. Among them was a flight from Paris to Madrid—six hundred miles; another from Paris to Rome—nine hundred miles over the Alps; a third over a circuit of more than twelve hundred miles in Germany from Johannesthal to Berlin; a fourth from St. Petersburg to Moscow—four hundred miles; a fifth over a circuit of a thousand miles from Paris to London by way of Belgium and Holland, and return; and the last, just completed, over a thousand-mile circuit from London up the east coast of England to Edinburgh and Sterling, then down the west coast as far as Exeter and back to London. This race was won by a French aviator, Lieutenant Conneau, who flies under the name of André Beaumont. The race lasted from Saturday to Wednesday, but Lieutenant Conneau's actual time in the air for the thousand and ten miles of the circuit was twenty-two hours and twenty-eight minutes, making his average rate of speed nearly forty-five miles an hour. His victory was closely contested by M. Vedrines, who reached the finishing-point near London about an hour later than the winner, although he had spent in the air during the circuit only twenty-nine minutes longer than M. Beaumont. Such contests as these, aside from their picturesqueness and their interest as good sport, must be of value in testing the capabilities of the aeroplane.

RESULT OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Our readers will perhaps remember that eight years ago we sent to Colorado a woman whose predilections were in favor of woman's suffrage to inquire into and to report upon the conditions she found there. Her report was decidedly adverse, whereupon she was bitterly attacked by certain Woman Suffragists. It was even falsely stated that she was sent with directions to give an unfavorable report. Those readers who are acquainted with The Outlook need no assurance from us that the only direction we ever give to any one acting on our behalf is to ascertain and report the facts as they actually are, regardless of their effect on any theories which The Outlook may entertain. A recent article in the "Remonstrance" on "Suffrage in Colorado," based on correspondence which had previously appeared in the "Ladies' Home Journal," reports testimonies from nearly a score of residents of Colorado, who agree in the statement that woman's suffrage has not, in its sixteen years of operation, improved politics in that State. It is generally conceded by the advocates of woman's suffrage that in States where it does not already exist only a minority of women are in favor of it, the majority being either opposed or indifferent; and we believe that the Woman Suffragists have uniformly opposed submitting the question, whether suffrage should be granted to women or not, to the women themselves. It would be interesting if this question could be submitted in such a State as Colorado, where the experiment has been tried. We suspect the result would indicate a small but very earnest minority in favor of suffrage; probably a smaller, but equally earnest, minority opposed to suffrage; and an overwhelming majority of women so far indifferent that they would cast no vote upon the question at all. The "Remonstrance" notes the fact, which we had not seen noted before, that a petition against woman's suffrage bearing 53,000 signatures, of which 31,000 were those of women, was presented to the House of Commons on the day when the vote on this subject was taken. We repeat what we have often said, that those who believe in woman's suffrage ought to address their arguments, not to the men, but to the women. It seems to us quite clear that suffrage ought not to be forced upon a reluctant constituency, and it is equally clear that whenever a majority of women in any State wish to vote the vote will be granted to them.

THE AWAKENING OF THE TURKISH WOMAN

In a recent issue of the "Contemporary Review" there appeared an article entitled "The Womenkind of Young Turkey," in the first part

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of which the writer tells of the education which the Turkish woman is now receiving, in the latter part of her unrest, her impatience of restraint, and her desire for emancipation. About a half-century ago the Turk began to change some of his ideas with regard to women. He had traveled through Europe, had met the Western woman, and had found that she was none the less virtuous, as a rule, for her education and freedom. So he went home to import some of this culture and education for the benefit of his own women. His sole idea was to make them more charming companions. There was to be no freedom. He wanted cultured slaves. As a result of his impressions, the importation of governesses began, most of them Frenchwomen. Some of them were of an inferior type, but their influence was to revolutionize the harem. At first this revolution was only superficial, but its power increased, and to-day the Young Turk, who stands for progress and liberty, is said to be partly the result of this introduction of the foreign educational element. After the fall of Abdul-Hamid, the women who had been the loyal supporters of the Young Turk naturally thought that a share of this new freedom would come to them. They dreamed that they might go unveiled, that they might walk out alone, and some even fancied that they would be permitted to receive the visits of a few men friends. "Indeed," said the men, "can't you be satisfied with the society of your kinsmen?" Whether they followed this course for political reasons or because they were still dominated by the old ideas of social conduct, the effect was the same: freedom was for men, and not for women. Finding herself thwarted in this direction, the Turkish woman has turned her attention increasingly toward education, hoping at length to fit herself for a freedom which is now denied her, and for which perhaps she is not yet ready. Education through the governess, unless the family was wealthy enough to employ a high-salaried instructress, proved unsatisfactory, and at length the Turkish woman turned to the comparatively few educational institutions for women. While visiting one of these colleges, the writer of the article, Miss E. S. Stevens, remarks that it gave her a considerable shock when she heard demure young girls of fifteen discussing problems which were deeply metaphysical. In another class she listened to their essays on Spinoza, Bruno, and Descartes. Chief among those who have worked for such ends is Selma Hanoum, sister of the President of the Chamber. Miss Stevens asked her as to the probability in the near future of a larger sphere of activity for women. "We must be content to sacrifice our own aspirations," she replied, "in order that the next generation may not suffer . . . The day of liberty must come." Now "we can do nothing but wait, and, above all, work in secret for the education of women. . . . We have to prove that an educated Turkish woman is a fitter mother of Turkish men than a slave."

A TURKISH WOMAN'S VIEW

Not the least interesting portion of this article is a document written by a Turkish lady of high rank and reported, without her name, by the writer of the article. This Mohammedan lady makes some claims for the Moslem ideals of womanhood which will be surprising to Christian readers, and will be received by them, as they are by us, with some degree of skepticism. She claims that, "notwithstanding the advance of civilization in Europe and America, women have not yet been able to obtain as much as the Mohammedan women of old." In support of this claim she asserts that illustrious women actually fought in battles for the Prophet and were blessed by him for having done so; that in his time women engaged in trade and in teaching—facts which, she maintains, are quite inconsistent with the notion that women were required to go always veiled. They were also allowed, according to this writer, to take part in the election of a sovereign and in theological and judicial discussions; and she gives a number of names of Moslem women who in the olden time gained renown in theology and law. Mohammedanism, like Christianity and like Judaism, has been overlaid by traditions which have corrupted and, to some extent, made of none effect the earlier and purer religion of the founder. "Mohammedan law," says Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, "has grown up by gradual accretions, both losing and gaining as time and circumstances have

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demanded." This traditional Mohammedanism has undoubtedly corrupted in many respects the primitive and purer religion of Mohammed, who, says R. Bosworth Smith, "improved the condition of women by freeing them from the arbitrary patriarchal power of the parents, or the heirs of their husbands, by inculcating just and kind treatment of them by their husbands themselves, by giving them legal rights in case of unfair treatment, by absolutely prohibiting the incestuous marriages which were rife in the times of ignorance, and the still more horrible practice of the burying alive of female infants." On the other hand, Zweemer, in his volume on "Islam," quotes Perron as contrasting the freedom and the legal status of woman prior to Mohammedanism with her servile condition under Islam, and publishes an appeal from women missionaries at Cairo in 1906, giving in detail the oppression, suffering, and moral and mental degradation to which, under the Mohammedanism of to-day, woman is subject. The appeal made by the Turkish woman of high rank from the corrupt Mohammedanism of the present to the purer Mohammedanism of the past, whether all her statements are to be taken as historically accurate or not, is a very promising indication for social and religious reform in Turkey in the near future.

COLLEGE AND THEATER: THE PLAY-WRITERS

Few people realize what a powerful influence is being brought to bear by the colleges on the drama and the stage in this country. Mr. Gladstone used to say that if he wanted to know what direction English opinion was going to take in the future he went to the universities and learned what the undergraduates were thinking about. There have been all kinds of despairing talk about the decline of the play, the passing of the actor, and the greed of the manager, but only a few people have noticed what the colleges were doing about the matter. They have done a good deal, and they are to do a great deal more in two directions: education of dramatic taste and training of dramatic talent. Those who have known about Professor George P. Baker's admirable instruction in play-writing at Harvard have taken it for granted that it was pioneer work; when assumptions of this kind are made, it generally turns out that some small college "out West" has already made a beginning in the same field. This, Professor Baker says in his very interesting article in the "Dramatic Mirror," is the fact about the teaching of dramatic writing in the colleges: it began "out West." This earliest effort was premature, and one important factor in the substantial success of Professor Baker's work has been the opportunities which the stage of to-day offers. The chasm between the lecture-room of this thoroughly trained and stimulating teacher in Cambridge and the Broadway theaters has been crossed successfully more than once. "Salvation Nell" was a graduate of Harvard and an advance guard as well; a skirmisher in an advance of the college in new territory. The work in this field began because students demanded it. They were allowed to substitute play-writing for research work, and they at once became deeply interested; and in the end their interest led to the creation of a well-developed course in the invention of plots, construction, dramatic presentation, and the literary elements in play-making.

COLLEGE AND THEATER: THE PUBLIC

More immediately important than the teaching of what may be called dramatic technique has been the interest awakened in the drama in colleges throughout the country, which has resulted in many dramatic presentations in connection with the study of literature. The preparations for these plays, always selected with reference to their literary as well as dramatic quality, has been part of the teaching of the literary departments. In some colleges, as at Smith, for instance, these dramatic representations have been features of the commencement festivities for many years; but the movement has of late years taken on National proportions. The Greek dramas and classic plays of German, French, and Elizabethan origin have been admirably presented from Harvard to the beautiful open-air theater at Berkeley. Graduates of women's colleges have spread the interest in the drama far and

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wide, and women's clubs have made the stage and the play subjects of serious study. Dramatic leagues organized by intelligent and enthusiastic women are fostering interest in American plays and developing and directing public sentiment. When Professor Brander Matthews gave four lectures on as many periods in stage-settings and consequent modifications of the play in New York last winter, the spacious auditorium of the New Theater was filled. This widespread general interest in American play-writing is due in no small measure to the influence of college teaching; and, taken in connection with the notable work in dramatic writing which has come from American hands of late years, and which The Outlook has from time to time reported, gives substantial evidence of progress in the recovery of the stage to the uses of art.

SMOKING A PRIVILEGE; NOT A RIGHT

A significant sign sometimes appears in public places: "Gentlemen will not smoke here; others must not." Unfortunately, all smokers are not gentlemen; and of late years men who smoke without regard to the comfort of others have so greatly increased in numbers that it is not surprising that an organization has been formed to limit smoking to places where women and non-smokers are not disturbed by it. Formerly in this country smoking was regarded as a privilege and was indulged in in public places only where it was specifically permitted; now it is regarded as a right and is indulged in in public in all places where it is not specifically forbidden. We have exchanged the old attitude of consideration for women in this matter for the indifference to the comfort of women which prevails in some parts of Europe. In public buildings, hotels, railway and ferry stations, dining cars, and many other places where the majority do not smoke clouds of tobacco smoke offend and distress women and disgust smokers who have the instincts and habits of gentlemen. In large restaurants there are rooms set apart for smokers, but of late years no public room is safe from their encroachment. It is high time rigorously to define smoking as a privilege, not a right.

THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO

A German gunboat appeared the other day at a small but comparatively good harbor on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. All Europe was thrown into ferment. The British fleet which was going on a visit to Norway has been ordered to stay at home. Stocks have suffered a fall in European markets. At Lloyds insurance is being taken out against the risks of war between England and Germany. What does it all mean? To answer that question a brief historical review of North Africa during the last hundred years is necessary.

In the early years of the nineteenth century Egypt was a country in which no European's life was safe, where wreckage on the seacoast meant slavery for any Christian in the wrecked vessel. The other North African states, then called the Barbary States, pursued piracy as a profession. The little Italian towns perched high on the hilltops, the ruined towers along the coasts of France and Spain, bear witness to the fact that no Christian country on the Mediterranean was safe from assault. Moreover, these sea banditti actually claimed the right to rob and blackmail all merchant vessels of Powers that did not pay them tribute, and a century ago the principal Christian Powers did pay them tribute—disguising the humiliating fact under various names, while the historians of after years got rid of the unpleasant truth by wholly ignoring it. Not only did all the great European Powers pay them tribute, but so did the United States. During the early years of the Republic, in spite of the tribute, the Algerians, and to a less extent some of the other Barbary peoples, committed such ravages on our commerce and reduced so many American citizens to slavery that even the peace-loving Jefferson went to war with them; and another expedition was sent against them immediately after the close of the War of 1812.

In those days we had no battle-ships (the peace people of the period being possessed of the futile belief that we could get justice without them), and, though our frigates and gunboats

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were generally victorious, we could not permanently cripple the Algerians; after each little war, although we made them give up prisoners and promise not to plunder our ships, we had to agree to pay them an annual tribute; it is not pleasant to remember that until the year 1830 an American war-ship annually performed this humiliating task. In that year the American ship, as it sailed out of the harbor, passed the vanguard of the French expedition sailing in to the conquest of Algeria. It was the French conquest of Algeria that put a stop to the piracy of the Barbary States, and laid all the civilized Powers under a debt by freeing them from the odious blackmail hitherto collected from them by the communities of African sea bandits.

France has also taken Tunis and established a protectorate over Tripoli, while England has taken Egypt and the Sudan. The result has been of great benefit to the world, and of great benefit to the people of the occupied countries, which have enjoyed under their foreign occupation a degree of prosperity they never knew before. These two Powers, England and France, are making possible the first steps in civilization in northern Africa.

Morocco is the only corner of northern Africa not under European control, and, in consequence, Morocco is the only place in northern Africa in which situations develop that are likely to threaten the peace of the world. Spain is powerless to conquer and hold Morocco, and under the native Moslem rule the country seethes with cruelty, misery, and every form of bestiality in a way hard to bring home to the minds of good people who have not themselves seen the dark spots of the earth. It would be of great benefit to Morocco, and a still greater benefit to civilization, if France were to take it and govern it as she has taken and governed Algeria. There were indications that she would do so. Germany, jealous of France and wishing to take Morocco for herself if possible, and if not, to keep any other Power from taking it, interfered. First, in 1905 the German Emperor made an unexpected and somewhat spectacular visit to Tangier, and was publicly reported to have declared that no outside influence would be permitted to interfere with Moroccan independence. Then followed the famous Algeciras Conference, in which Germany, England, France, and other Powers united in affirming the independence of Morocco, equality of trade with Morocco for all nations, and a system of native police protection under French and Spanish officers. In this Conference America was represented, but only as a friendly Power whose good offices had been requested, not as an active member which made itself responsible for results.

The alleged ground for the presence of a German gunboat now at Agadir is that German citizens are not adequately protected. Other grounds not alleged are not unreasonably suspected. Agadir is not one of the ports placed by the Algeciras convention under international police control. It is nearer to southern South America than any North American port; hence America's interest in the incident—remote perhaps, but not unreal. It is the natural approach to a district of Morocco rich in minerals, in which Germans have already secured important mining concessions. Meanwhile Germany's expectation of a permanent interest in Morocco is indicated by the fact that she has founded chairs for the teaching of Moroccan Arabic in two seminaries, one at Hamburg and one at Berlin. England was forced against her will into the occupation of Egypt, in the interest of a world civilization. France, against a less apparent reluctance, was forced into Algeria. No such conditions have coerced the German approach upon Morocco. It appears to be, not in the interest of civilization, but in the interest of her own colonial and commercial expansion. It is this fact which gives to the present attitude and action of Germany its ominous significance. Taking possession of a port on the Atlantic coast of North Africa, a port nearer southern Brazil than any American port, with the possibility of fortifying it and making it a rendezvous for a German fleet, and a possible means of pushing territorial expansion both in Africa and in southern South America, not unnaturally awakens uneasiness in both England and France, and might conceivably prove in the future a peril to South

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America, to whose protection the United States is pledged by the Monroe Doctrine.

If we could be sure that Germany's sole object is to preserve law and order in Morocco as France is doing in Algeria and England in Egypt, and if her action did not tend to arouse bitter antagonism in other civilized nations, The Outlook would see no cause to regret her course. Germany has done good work elsewhere in Africa; and if she could step in herself to administer Morocco without exciting justifiable suspicion in the minds of other nations whose position forces them to take an eager interest in the question, we should be pleased. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Germany, by the action to which she assented at Algeciras, admitted that France has interests in Morocco such as no other Power but Spain possesses; and Spain is not strong enough to do the work which civilization demands in Morocco.

We are genuine admirers of Germany, we are sincere well-wishers of the German people, and we believe that there is much in their national life that it would be peculiarly to the advantage of our people to copy; and we speak in a spirit of genuine friendship when we say that it is a misfortune for Germany to permit her commercial and political ambitions to trick her into taking an attitude which tends to make her neighbors suspicious of her designs. It is especially unfortunate for her to take a course which means the protection of murderous savages from civilization, and which would be hostile to whatever great Power is willing seriously to undertake the task of putting these savages under civilized control.

England's interests in Africa extend from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean Sea. She is building a railway from Cape Town to Cairo. Wherever she goes she carries a just government and a leaven of civilization. How serious are the suspicions with which the English Government regards the declaration of Germany that her war-ship will remain at Agadir until France withdraws her troops, except as to police, and gives a guarantee that she will not treat Morocco as a colony, is indicated by the recent speech of Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British Cabinet, to the bankers of London, at the Mansion House. He is a Liberal, but he is not a "Little Englander." He said: "If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position that Great Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement—by allowing Great Britain to be treated, where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations—then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

This speech of Mr. Lloyd-George was followed by three significant addresses in the British House of Commons on July 26. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, in a paper written with care and read—a very unusual method of public speech in that body, and all the more significant on that account—declared that it was the hope of his Majesty's Government that a settlement satisfactory and honorable to both parties (Germany and France) might be reached between them, and one in no way prejudicial to British interests; but that, "failing a settlement such as I have indicated, we must become an active party in the discussion of the situation. That would be our right as a signatory to the Treaty of Algeciras, as it might be our obligation under the terms of the agreement of 1904 with France. It might be our duty in defense of British interests directly affected by further developments." Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition, following Mr. Asquith, pledged the support of the Opposition to the Government in the course indicated by Mr. Asquith. "If," he said, "there were any who supposed we would be wiped off the map of Europe because we had our own difficulties at home, it might be worth while saying that they utterly mistook the temper of the British people and the patriotism of the Opposition, whether drawn from one side of the house or the other." This statement was indorsed by Mr. Ramsey Macdonald, the leader of the Labor party, who added his conviction that the Labor parties in France, Germany, and England would co-operate to bring about a peaceful solution of the threatened difficulty, and suggested that a settlement might be

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found through The Hague. There is significance in this statement of the peaceful desires of an international Labor party and value in the suggestion of The Hague. For public opinion is a powerful factor in international as well as in national affairs, and The Hague may prove a useful means for organizing and giving expression to a public opinion which has hitherto lacked an agent through which to secure expression.

The situation is serious; but the problem is not insoluble. If England, Germany, or France wished for war, the conditions would furnish an adequate excuse. But no one of these nations does wish for war. It is reasonable to hope that some fair agreement will be reached by the three Powers which will not only prevent war, and even continued misunderstanding, but provide means as effectual for the preservation of law and order in Morocco as those which have been successfully used by England and France for good government in Egypt and Algeria.

STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION

Texas has just passed through a prohibition campaign, Maine is in the midst of one. A number of other States, some of them having, others not having, adopted a prohibitory law, find the prohibition issue one that is frequently recurrent. On another page we print an article from Oklahoma which states the case strongly on behalf of prohibition.

We have received several letters asking our opinion on prohibition in the several States; and one from a Methodist minister in Maine, stating the issue as he sees it in that State. That letter we publish on another page. According to him, all the good men in Maine are in favor of prohibition; only the vicious men are opposed to it. If that were true, Maine would be in a parlous condition. We do not believe that it is true. We do not believe that there is any State in the Union, or any city in any State, or any ward in any city, in which the vicious and the virtuous are so evenly balanced that in any perfectly clear and well-understood issue between vice and virtue the vote would be doubtful. If the present campaign in Maine is doubtful, it is because the best citizens in Maine are not all agreed as to the wisdom of prohibition. Our correspondent is certainly incorrect in saying that all the ministers in Maine are in favor of prohibition. The same week that brought us his letter brought us a recently published paper read by a prominent minister in Maine before a meeting of ministers some years ago, in which he argued strenuously against prohibition. This minister is not alone. There are others, who are silent; some, because they wisely dread the reaction which would for a time inevitably follow the abolition of prohibition; some, because they are unwilling to be reckoned in with the unscrupulous representatives of the liquor traffic; some, because they are unwilling to subject themselves to the vituperation of certain intemperate temperance men.

We do not wish to take any part in State temperance elections. We have no direct counsel to give to any voters respecting such elections. We do not believe in State-wide prohibition. In fact, no one of the States that have adopted the prohibitory law has, so far as we know, really adopted prohibition. What most such States have done has been to issue an edict against the sale of liquor and then leave each locality to carry that edict into effect. This is practically the worst kind of local option—local option to disregard law. But State-wide prohibition left unenforced in considerable sections of the State is much better than free liquor, and better than a slipshod license system organized, not to restrain or regulate the liquor traffic, but only to raise a little income for the State, and not really enforced at all. All that The Outlook can do is to lay down certain very general principles the application of which must vary very widely in different localities.

The evils of the liquor traffic as at present carried on in the United States are enormous—so great and so patent that the liquor-dealers themselves are beginning to demand reform. The economic burden which that traffic entails upon the community is hard to estimate. It is a prolific cause of two of society's greatest burdens—poverty and crime. But these economic burdens are the least. The corruption of politics, the destruction of families, and the degradation of character

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caused by the excessive use of intoxicating liquors cannot be estimated at all. For such evils there is no standard of measurement. We sympathize with the prohibitionists in their passionate desire to find a panacea. The argument for the panacea which they propose is very simple: the liquor traffic produces these evils; prohibit the liquor traffic, and you abolish the evils. It is as simple as was the argument of the Abolitionists in the '50's: slavery is a crime; therefore we demand the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. Or as the argument of the communists: private property produces covetousness, industrial oppression, frauds, robberies, gambling; therefore abolish private property.

The object of prohibitory laws is to prevent wrong-doing. All civilized communities prohibit murder, because murder is always wrong; but they do not prohibit the sale of firearms, which may lead to murder, because the use of firearms is not always wrong. The real analogy is not between murder and the sale of liquor (an analogy commonly drawn, and one that appears in the article in this issue already referred to); the real analogy is between murder and intemperance. What society should do is to attempt to eradicate intemperance, for intemperance is always wrong; not to try to prevent all sale of liquor, for the use of liquor is not necessarily always wrong. The radical, and the only radical, remedy for intemperance is making men temperate—that is, endowing them with the power of self-control. Law can never be a substitute for this work of education and religion. But law can be a great help. Is prohibition the best help which the wit of men can devise or has devised? We think not, though it is a great deal better than none.

Men who are as earnestly interested in the temperance cause as the prohibitionists object to State-wide prohibition because it professes to do what it cannot do; because it professes to prohibit when it does not prohibit; because experience has demonstrated that one part of a State which believes in prohibition cannot and does not prevent the liquor traffic in another part of the State which does not believe in prohibition. In the State of Maine there is prohibition in the Constitution and in the Statute-Book, and local option in practice. Where public sentiment is not in favor of enforcement there is no enforcement. Legal local option has its disadvantages; but it is better than illegal local option.

The prohibitionist has a right to ask his opponent what he proposes as a substitute. We answer this question briefly.

There is no one method equally available in all localities. A law which may work well in a rural population like that of Kansas might work very ill in a congested population like that of New York City. But the general principles which we believe experience indicate as hopeful for general application are the following:

I. The treatment of alcohol as we treat gunpowder—as an extra-hazardous article of commerce, to be sold only under strict Government regulation.

II. A tax on sales sufficient to make the traffic pay a much larger share than it now pays of the financial burden which it imposes on the community.

III. A much smaller number of places per capita permitted to sell than are now permitted to sell.

IV. Such sale to be under police supervision and regulation, preferably exercised by the State authorities.

V. Local option; that is, power given to the locality to prohibit the sale altogether. The locality may be a town, or a county, or an excise district. The essential matter is that it should be of such size and homogeneity that the public sentiment which prohibits the sale can enforce the prohibition.

VI. Such local option should be exercised by the permanent residents—leaseholders and taxpayers—to prevent colonization; and should be exercised in elections held every two or three years. Any one who has lived in a local option town knows the inconvenience of such recurring elections. But he also knows that the educational advantage of a recurring temperance campaign far outbalances the inconvenience. For this reason we do not believe in constitutional prohibition. We do not wish to see the question settled once for all. It cannot be settled once for all. The evils of intemperance

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can be eradicated only as the individual men and women are made temperate. And one excellent means of temperance education is constantly recurring temperance campaigns.

It is reported that the prohibitionists in Texas have been defeated. We hope that they will not lose heart. We hope that their leaders will take counsel with men in the State who are not prohibitionists, but who do not believe in an unregulated or ill-regulated liquor traffic, and will devise with them some anti-saloon campaign in which they may hope to carry the State by a majority so strong that whatever law is enacted can be, and will be, enforced. If the prohibitionists in Maine are defeated, we hope that they will follow the same course. If they are successful, we hope that the temperance men who are not prohibitionists will join with the prohibitionists in making more effective than it has been in the past the law which by such election the majority will have adopted.

THE STEVENSON LETTERS[1]

The four volumes of "The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson" recently published contain about one hundred and fifty letters which have not appeared in any earlier form. Their special interest lies in the fact that they were largely written to his more intimate friends, and are for that reason more definitely autobiographic than many of his later letters. They are full of references to those early years which were formative in their influence on his life and art. Stevenson was a voluminous writer, and there must be in different hands a considerable number of his letters which have not seen the light. It is to be hoped that they will always be kept in the privacy which now protects them; for in the case of so capable and intelligent an editor as Mr. Colvin there is undoubtedly, where letters are left unpublished, good reason why the public should not be taken into those confidences of the brilliant writer to which his intimates alone have a claim. In Stevenson's case especially any violation of confidence would be an outrage against the memory of a man who gave himself with rare generosity to his readers.

It is hardly necessary to say at this late day that Stevenson was one of the most entertaining and vivid letter-writers of his time. His personality was strikingly distinct and original; the touch of the bizarre in him was part of his nature, and his dramatic temper was not assumed for an audience. His talk, like Mr. Kipling's, was concrete and vivid; he made pictures with a free and dashing hand as he talked, and he had the habit, common among men of dramatic imagination, of rapidly building up an incident and giving it artistic proportions and relations. When a fancy struck him—and fancies seemed to come to him suddenly and unexpectedly—it was like a bubble in a boy's hand: he blew it up, so to speak, until it hung in the air like an iridescent globe over the surface of which brilliant colors played in bewildering succession.

He had the faculty which Dr. Holmes, who also possessed it, defined as the power of lighting one's own fire. This is genius. Men are often kindled by others and their torches are set aflame by contagion, so to speak, but only the man of genius can inspire himself. This is the gift of the poet, the orator, the great preacher; and one who has heard men of genius talk has often noted the moment when the imagination caught fire and the talker was lifted above himself. This was a common experience with those who heard Carlyle in his most vivid moods. Coleridge's talk had wonderful moments of divination, when the invisible order of the spiritual world seemed suddenly to stand out in clear definition, but it was the revelation of abstract truth. Carlyle, on the other hand, seemed to be fired by his historic imagination as he flashed a swift light on some past incident; or brought history before the eye, as Lowell says he wrote it, in flashes of lightning; or etched the portrait of some old hero or ancient worthy, or even of some detested contemporary, with the genius of Rembrandt, using another medium of expression.

Those who sat before the open fire in the middle room on the ground floor of the house in Cheyne Row, enveloped in clouds of tobacco smoke, often forgot that they were listening and fell under

[1] The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

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the spell of the illusion that they were seeing. There was, of course, an element of exaggeration in this flaming talk; some readers of Carlyle have never understood this fact and have therefore failed to understand him. When imagination, humor, and the dramatic gift are combined in a man, there is a daring freedom in his speech which intensifies and magnifies persons and events as they must be intensified and magnified if their real proportions are to be conveyed to others. Colonel Higginson has told us how, at the end of a long and blasting tirade, Carlyle would burst into a Homeric laugh and clear the air on the instant.

Stevenson's talk often had this note of exaggeration so characteristic of the man of genius. With a droll seriousness he magnified some annoyance of travel, some grievance against the weather, some American habit of speech, until it seemed as if he were dealing with the affairs of empire. In his excited moods he would walk up and down the room, as if he were feeding the fire by opening the draughts. It was in such moods that his skill in conveying a scene by a stroke of the pencil made the listener aware that he was in the presence of one of those inexplicable forces of nature of which the literal-minded are always suspicious, because they cannot be defined in good set terms. The dry-as-dust grubbers after facts are always setting snares for genius and always forgetting that genius has wings.

In Stevenson's case this natural force was adroitly, tirelessly directed to clear ends; for he was an intensely conscientious artist, and his work never fails to show the heaven-sent felicity and the patient use of the file as well. He never gives you the sense of unlimited resource, of the abundance of the great improviser checked and partially disciplined by the artist, as do Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, for example; on the contrary, everything is husbanded, arranged, ordered; but with what ingenious talent, what vital skill, what brilliant energy!

More of Stevenson went into his talk than into his letters, and more into his letters than into his fiction and essays; next, therefore, to hearing his voice and seeing his features is the privilege of reading these characteristic letters; for the author of "Treasure Island" had the gift of putting his stamp on the most unimportant sentence, and making the briefest note a channel through which his personality flowed. There has been no more gallant spirit in our time than the writer of these letters, who sat at his table and wrote not only brilliantly but joyfully during the years when he knew that outside the door death, not the printer's boy, was waiting for his copy; but death was beaten in the end by that unconquerable spirit, for the "copy" overflows with life.

LABOR UNIONS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

EDITORIAL BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

MR. P. H. MORRISSEY, formerly head of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, one of the great labor unions of the country, and now President of the American Railroad Employees and Investors' Association, recently made an address to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers which sets forth such good doctrine that I wish it were possible to quote it in full. The speech is, in the first place, an emphatic plea for unionism, an insistence upon the benefits that labor unions confer upon the wage-workers, and a further insistence upon the fact that the whole community is thereby benefited, because the community cannot afford not to have the condition of the wage-worker at the highest possible level. I cordially agree with Mr. Morrissey's views in this matter. As he says, the efforts of an individual employee of a great corporation, unassisted, to adjust his wages and working conditions to suit the requirements of our time would be about as effective as the attempt to sweep back the torrents of Niagara with a whisk-broom; and therefore society should encourage the wage-workers to follow their natural bent—the natural bent of mankind—and to associate for their

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mutual advantage and common protection.

So far Mr. Morrissey has merely said what all labor union leaders ought to say, and have, as a rule, rightly said. But he continues, after a fashion not too common among labor leaders, by recognizing the duties of the unions to the community just as frankly as he has insisted upon the recognition by the community of the rights of the unions. His text here is that the labor organization that does not deal justly with all, and keep within the law of the land, will sooner or later die of its own folly. The stock accusations against the unions by their leading opponents are, in the first place, that they inevitably tend to lawlessness; and, in the next place, that they tend to stereotype workers into a caste, all of whom are assured equal pay without any regard to their proficiency, and who therefore tend to lose the ambition to show individual efficiency or organized efficiency. Mr. Morrissey speaks on both these points as clearly as any man could wish. He says: "Labor should put itself on record in no uncertain way as being against all forms of lawlessness. A criminal act committed by a misguided or overzealous individual supposedly in the interest of labor is as reprehensible as a similar act would be if committed by an avowed opponent of labor. Labor cannot claim greater liberty under the law than any other group of our citizenship, nor can it be expected to accept less." He continues: "We might consider with propriety whether we are encouraging the members of these organizations to do the best that is within them in the service they give to their employers, and indirectly to the public. There will always be plenty to do in relieving the overburdened, but every intelligent and honest railroad employee should have an ambition to render loyal and efficient service and make good in the task assigned to him."

This doctrine should never be forgotten. No man is fit to live in a democratic community who does not make it a matter of personal pride to do his particular job in the best possible fashion, whether his job be that of a brakeman, a banker, a farmer, a blacksmith, an artist, a scientist, or a writer. In closing his speech, Mr. Morrissey emphatically places himself on record as against the baleful principle of substituting class for individual selfishness, saying:

> I believe it will be accepted as a principle of democracy that the interests of the whole people are greater than those of any class, even its largest class, and that the interests of any class shall predominate only when shown to be identical with the welfare of the mass. Organized labor cannot advance the interests of the worker by holding itself aloof from the other groups which go to make up society. It should be able and prepared to state its principles and defend them anywhere. It cannot, in my judgment, ultimately succeed by preaching the doctrine of hatred, or encouraging labor to withhold its recognition of these great public questions, because, perchance, labor would be associated with some of its enemies, past or present.

I am sure that all the earnest men and women who are sincerely striving to do their duty, individually and collectively, ever better and better, and who recognize that their duty is to help others no less than to insist on their own rights, will welcome the doctrine set forth in Mr. Morrissey's speech; and it is peculiarly a speech that it is a good thing to have made by a prominent labor man. I am so earnest a believer in the labor movement, I so desire it to succeed, that I always feel saddened when it comes short in any way; and especially when it permits opposition to the wolfish greed of that portion of capitalistic society which is conscienceless, to take the form of an equally wolfish and conscienceless greed which, in its turn, demands to be satisfied at the expense of other classes of our citizens.

In a recent admirable article, in the official organ of the California Progressive Republicans, entitled "Who Is Going to Do It?" the writer sets forth the main problem of our time as the effort so to reorganize things that everybody will begin life with a fair opportunity to win happiness and to gain his share of the good that the world provides, so that poverty and unemployment, disease and crime, may be enormously reduced, and so that there may be a real and substantial increase in the comfort and happiness of the average man—not merely the man at the top, but the man in the middle and the man a long way down the line. The article is no mere idealist dream; it is

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written by a practical man of affairs (and incidentally I call the attention of some self-styled apostles of the practical to the fact that the California Progressives, the men like Mr. U'Ren, of Oregon, and the Wisconsin Progressives have proved themselves to be eminently practical). There is no anticipation of any immediate realization of a Utopia, but a full understanding that what is needed is a gigantic and complicated scheme of development involving innumerable changes and reforms, and therefore innumerable experiments and mistakes; calling for object-lessons without number, for many sacrifices, for much dull drudgery, and, above all, for work which will not do itself but must be done by somebody who will not be daunted by the drudgery, the difficulty, the cries of the injured, the ravings of cranks, and the warnings of the timid souls who think themselves wise.

The article then goes on to ask where we shall find our leaders, where we shall find the men who will do this work and bring about this change. The writer tells why he does not believe that we can expect the lead to be taken either by the very rich as a class or by the very poor as a class, why he distrusts the Socialists as a party, why he is disheartened that more help does not come from the churches; and then he gives the reasons for his disappointment at the part that organized labor has taken, and is taking, in the movement. He laments the fact that where the union has appeared in politics it has too often been for the gain of its class and not for the general good, because too often it has adopted the baneful suggestion of the Marx Socialists, the doctrine of class consciousness, which means in effect class selfishness. The writer continues:

> Bad as selfishness is in the individual, it is infinitely worse when set up as the battle-cry of some one portion of the community shut in by an industrial boundary. It is a crime, and worse than a crime, a blunder; for if the people as a whole come to understand that organized labor's only interest in politics is to win special privilege for itself, they will "lay for it" with a club, and its last state will be worse than its first. By uniting with saloons and the tough element—as in San Francisco—it may have its brief hour of local triumph, but in the long run it will be heavily the loser. However, that is aside from the question, *Will it help?* To which the answer is: Not while it maintains class selfishness.

Asking who is to do the work, he says in answer: Why, the rest of us; those who do not permit riches to stifle them, nor poverty to deprive them of energy and intelligence, those who work with hands or brain, or both, and yet do not profess a class consciousness on that account; those who are dead in earnest in desiring things better, and yet are not hopelessly tied up to any particular theory; those who are prepared to do to-day's work to-day, whether it be easy or not, or romantic or not, or our own choice or not; those who do not claim to know it all, but are prepared to experiment, and to make some mistakes, and to keep right on in the face of discouragement.

This is fine doctrine, and it is doctrine which should not merely command our assent in the abstract but our active endeavor to make it take practical shape in work. Mr. Morrissey's speech represents just such practical endeavor for good; and I speak of my own knowledge, and because of my associations, when I was President, with Mr. Morrissey when he was at the head of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, when I say that he then tried to apply in practice what he now so fervently preaches.

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BATTLE-SHIP AND DESTROYER IN THE WAR GAME

BY HENRY REUTERDAHL

BECAUSE the Japanese blundered during the war with Russia and failed to get the most out of their torpedo craft the torpedo has been decried the world over and the torpedo-boat destroyer looked upon as a type needful, but of problematic value. Until lately that point of view prevailed with us, and the demands of politics pushed the destroyer aside. It never had a fair and square chance, for, had our few destroyers been successful in the make-believe attacks against the big ships, the patriots in Congress, with an eye to economy and to the overflow of the pork-barrel, might have voted against battle-ships, and Senator Hale might have asked, What is the use of costly ships at seven millions apiece when a five-hundred-thousand-dollar destroyer can do the trick? and a whole Navy Department could not have convinced him of his error. So we have had few destroyer attacks under approximate war conditions. The "young" torpedo officers tore their hair and prayed for an even chance, but the wise ones in Washington, who knew that the navy needed battle-ships first, held tight, and the real chance to glorify the torpedo did not come until lately, and particularly the other night, when the destroyers and submarines swatted the battle-ship fleet in the war game off Block Island.

This was the game: A hostile fleet (on paper, the Blue), represented by the major portion of the Atlantic fleet with naval militia detachments on board, was to force the entrance to Long Island Sound, between Montauk and Block Island, south of Martha's Vineyard. The line of approach was defined, also the period of attack; otherwise, the conditions were those of war. The defenders (the Red fleet), led by Commander Eberle, represented a slower and less powerful force, but augmented by destroyers and submarines. The strength of the Red was purely theoretical; its actual make-up reminded you of the early days when, according to a seagoing wag, the fighting column consisted of the Indiana, the Iowa, plus a "banana boat," one steam launch, a bottle, and a cork. Disguised as a flag-ship, the Dixie, the mother ship of the destroyers, led the procession; and there was the Tonopah (the monitor), manned by the New Jersey Reserve outfit, slow in stays, but whose skipper, being a deep-sea sailor, made up for the lack of speed by his eagerness to take risks, running without lights. The Chicago, the little Aileen, the Machias, the Isla de Cuba from Baltimore, the Vixen, all belonging to the Naval Militia organizations, made up the balance. Minus her guns, the old gunboat Castine, now the nurse of a brood of submarines, played also a part. On paper these ancients were live battle-ships, but *in facto* were supported by a scouting screen of fast destroyers. And the attack was divided into two phases, with a day as an interval.

Now imagine a dark, misty night, the Red fleet hovering about Block Island, the submarines slung seaward, conning-towers awash, and the destroyers patrolling each a square of ten miles, all but the submarines running without lights and steaming across a crowded fairway of commerce, the oil-burning fellows sliding along without a smudge out of their stacks, each a modern Flying Dutchman to the lumbering schooner.

According to Commander Eberle's battle plan (a document of strategic conciseness), the sea was divided into squares, each one bearing a certain name. The destroyer which first located the "enemy" must wireless where and when, also his course, the message being signed with his own code name; ours was "Nora," our valiant neighbor on the patrol responded to "Nancy," and the code read like a list of fashionable modistes.

Silently we glide over the swell of the outgoing tide, rolling slowly, the masts swinging like pendulums in the night mist. On the bridge the keen eyes of the lookouts are glued on the horizon, searching for the enemy. The tenseness of the strain makes you see double, and the

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slightest blur in the atmosphere becomes a phantom fleet. The narrow deck below is in the darkness a tangle of hatches, cowls, and torpedo tubes; a dull light spots the engine-room, which throws a shimmer on the vapor from the funnels. There is not a tremor, the turbines spin silently and without vibration; only the hum of the fire-room blowers breaks the stillness of the night—an ideal one for torpedo attack.

But the "enemy" came not. Instead, he sneaked up to the eastward, making for our main fleet just as the sun cleared the horizon, when it would have been suicide for any destroyer to nose within eight thousand yards. According to the rules, the Red fleet must have the opponent under theoretical fire for ten minutes; but, owing to a bungle by one of the Naval Reserve ships, which spent two hours in fiddling with a foul anchor, our Red fleet failed to get under way in time to capture the "enemy," which peacefully anchored east of Block Island.

The Blue fleet did not force the entrance to the Sound or establish a base; the action was a draw, and, had it not been for the delayed start due to a foul anchor, plus some woodenness in handling it, the enemy might have been annihilated.

Now for the second phase and the victory of the destroyers. At a prearranged time the destroyer flotillas slink one after the other out of the anchorage back to the patrol field, hoping for dirty weather, rain, or the pall of the fog bank, which would swallow the low torpedo craft, leaving the tall masts of the battle-ship clean against the night sky. The "Torpederos" have hope of success; the odds are with them as the weather thickens, for it is impossible to see five hundred yards ahead. They are going forth, not to fight, but to assassinate. "Get close to her," said Captain Luby; "if you see their whiskers, you're sure. Let her rip!" It is then a cough and a swish, and inside of a minute the forty-knot torpedo is home, the big ship pandemonium, her heaving side a wreck. A compartment may be filled, and, trembling from the blow, she is disabled, perhaps sinking; but this is in *real war*. The torpedo in peace maneuvers like these is represented by the destroyer firing a red star, and the torpedoed ship acknowledges the success of the assault by turning on her running lights, allowing the destroyer to measure the distance between, so that all is according to the book of the game; but the battle-ship people, feeling secure behind their ponderous guns, are slow to admit even a theoretical puncture.

The enemy was somewhere around. We knew that they were hard on the job, with the wireless chewing up all the consonants in the alphabet, their scouts ticking X P L M C K H code signals, unintelligible to us, but real thrillers to their own crowd. The bell rang on the bridge. "Wireless, sir." We had the message in a minute. "Part of enemy's fleet in JOT [the name of the square], proceeding on a northerly course," came out of the air. It was signed "Maude," meaning that the destroyer Lamson had located the Blue fleet in her patrol field. So every destroyer darted through the night for square "JOT," steering for the haze of the searchlights rising over the horizon, all hoping to be in at the killing. Jogging along at ten knots, the Lamson had picked up the enemy's vanguard, come within a thousand yards of the leading ships, fired one red star and then another, and theoretically sunk two ships before anybody on board knew what had happened and before the searchlights got into play. Then the Lamson scooted back to her station.

And right in the fairway off Block Island the enemy fell for the little by-play sapiently rigged up by the Commodore. The Castine and two destroyers impersonated a tug with a tow of coal-barges, burning the regulation towing lights. One of the Blue scouts fell into the trap, and, to quote the captain of one of the destroyers; "we tied a tin can to the tail of the Salem, who got real mad and turned on her searchlights but refused to stay sunk, though the Dixie flashed her call letter within firing distance." Meanwhile the enemy had come within three thousand yards of the coal-barge destroyers, and the mêlée began. Red stars were flying fast, the Blue fleet was now in a theoretical mine field—soap boxes thrown overboard by the Dixie and representing contact mines. Two more battle-ships were despatched, and the submarines made their theoretical plunges and

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sent three of the Blue fleet to the bottom right under the eyes of their searchlights. It was a night of action, even if it was make-believe. But as our destroyers and submarines were about to deliver the final attack and completely destroy the already weakened enemy his flag-ship flashed "U S," meaning that the present exercises were discontinued. There was a wail on the destroyers, and some one said "Fudge!" and "Don't the senior officer always win?" for the game belonged to the torpedo. So ended the war of two nights.

The special order of commendation which Commander Eberle issued to his destroyers and submarines at the close of the exercises was more than deserved. Although running without lights at high speed, maneuvering in a highway of commerce, working with the Naval Reserve ships, which were, naturally, unaccustomed to steam without lights, the submarines showing only a glowworm glim, there was not the slightest accident; all which should be gratifying, not only to the flotilla commander, but to all hands of the service.

Every war has its "lesson." So has this, and the lesson is: More destroyers for the fleet. Had the Blue fleet been screened by a sufficient number of these vessels, the story would have been different and the submarines alone would have been able to score. Besides being "the assassin of the sea," the destroyer becomes the watchman of the big Dreadnaught. At least twenty more torpedo-boat destroyers are needed for the fleet. But the torpedo will never replace the gun. The big battle-ship is the thing, but with the destroyer as a helpmate.

DOES PROHIBITION PROHIBIT?[1]

BY L. J. ABBOTT

IF you ever talk with a liquor advocate, or one of his friends, in a prohibition State, you will invariably get this answer: "Yes, prohibition is all right if it would work, but prohibition won't prohibit. Why, just take this town, for instance!" And then will begin a long catalogue of bootlegging—that's what they term illicit liquor-selling in dry territory in the Southwest. His facts, for the most part, will be absolutely correct. The law is violated. There can be no doubt of that. I can speak with authority, because for the past few months I have been president of a Civic League in a small college town in a prohibition State. I found on assuming office that the chief duty of this League was to rid the town of illegal whisky traffic.

Then it was that I first awoke to the fact that prohibition did not prohibit as we who had voted for the constitutional amendment might wish it should. However, in the brief space of two months we closed every "joint" in the town, in spite of the fact that we had to contend against the apathy or open hostility of the Chief of Police, Mayor, and Town Council, as well as against numerous vexatious Federal laws. But before I undertook to apply the remedies I attempted to locate the cause of the derelictions of which we had so much just cause of complaint. It was soon apparent that our difficulty was both foreign and local. The former is much the harder to eradicate, because it is almost impossible to reach.

Although not framed for that purpose, yet the United States statutes are so construed that the Federal Government is leagued with the bootlegger and the distiller to thwart the law in every prohibition State. To illustrate: thousands of Federal licenses, or permits to sell liquor, are granted every year in Kansas and Oklahoma. Without such a license the joint-keeper is subject to all the penalties of the excise law of the United States; with it the violator of the prohibitory statute has at least purchased immunity from

[1] See letter in department "Letters to The Outlook," and editorial comment on another page.

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Federal prosecution. Nine-tenths of the illicit whisky-selling in every prohibition State could be abolished if the National Government refused to grant licenses which in effect give permission to violate the prohibition law, and then vigorously prosecuted all who sold liquor without the Federal permit.

The men who manufacture liquor do all in their power to discredit the prohibition law. They employ attorneys to keep the joint-keepers out of jail. They encourage violations of the law. Such is their profit that they ship on credit, assuming the risk of confiscation and loss.

The United States mails and inter-State commerce laws are the chief bulwark of these men in their illicit business. The mails in dry territory are flooded with liquor circulars. A willingness to ship to any one, with permission to sample the first bottle with return privileges, is a standing allurement to induce patronage. It is explained to the prospective purchaser that because of the inter-State commerce laws State officials cannot interfere with any one's "personal liberty" in thus purchasing what is desired for "health and comfort." And this is true.

In this respect the Federal Government is chief barmaid to the bootlegger. The United States mails are used to promote an illegal traffic, and through the workings of the inter-State commerce laws an entire train-load of liquor can be sent into any prohibition town, and, so long as it passes from one State into another, it is perfectly secure until the actual delivery has been made to the consignee.

For a time it seemed to me that United States marshals and railway and express agents took special pains to thwart the prohibition law. But the vigor of public opinion—and this is the chief deputy in all law enforcement—has gradually put a stop to it in Oklahoma. The Government no longer allows a bootlegger, when trapped, to pay a back license fee and thus escape prosecution. An express deliveryman who had large consignments of liquor come in his name in order to shield joint-keepers was much chagrined when he found himself haled into court. An express agent who made a practice of slipping contraband liquor to habitual law violators after dark and at odd hours on Sunday learned that the bootlegger was entitled to no such favors. In both instances there was a material reformation.

The local situation is much easier to control. When you can locate the illicit liquor-dealer, you can oust him. Realizing that on circus day, if ever, the jointist would have liquor to sell, fifty of us, armed with search warrants and accompanied by deputies to serve them, appeared, right on the heels of the circus parade, at the front and back doors of every joint in town. We obtained abundant evidence on which to base prosecutions to oust every bootlegger. And this has long since been done, with the possible exception of a few gentlemen of the cult who in secluded alleys dispense liquid fire from hip-pocket bottles.

Joints would never exist were it not for the fact that a considerable minority in every community regard it as no offense to violate a sumptuary statute, just as they regard it as no crime to habitually carry a loaded pistol.

Surely this is a serious indictment of prohibition enforcement. But notwithstanding, I am convinced—indeed, every open-minded citizen of the State will admit—that prohibition does prohibit. Certainly it is as rigorously enforced as the laws against murder and theft. In a single county in this "most enlightened" State at a recent session of the district court there were thirty-six murder cases upon the docket. We Anglo-Saxons have had almost twenty centuries of prohibition of homicide, and yet murder laws do not prohibit murder. Still you could not find one earnest citizen in the entire United States to advocate the repeal of statutes pertaining to homicide upon the flimsy pretext that prohibition did not prohibit murder.

So, too, is it regarding the prohibition of the liquor traffic. It does not, and never will, entirely eradicate it. People of Germanic extraction have been steeped in alcohol since the time when Tacitus first wrote of them. It is born in the blood. Once the taste is acquired, there is a craving for liquor that will not down. These men will have their glass. But in this little city of scant three thousand people there are scarcely thirty such. These men we cannot touch. Flocking with them are possibly forty jovial drinkers young bucks

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and old goats, who drink a little or a lot, not because they have to, but because they regard it as the best way to have what they regard as a "good time." As the rigor of prohibition enforcement increases, they quit. Most of the citizenship of this town—and I am convinced that it is a typical example—stopped tippling when it was declared illegal.

But the prohibitionist is prone to think that his full duty is done when he votes "dry." He forgets that the whisky advocates work at their job 365 days in the year, while he gets busy but one. And, with a curious perversity, he will vote for prohibition and at the same time support men for office who are opposed to that very measure. Let me illustrate again with a home example: Oklahoma has had constitutional prohibition for over three years, yet in the college town in which I live the City Council has persistently refused to pass any ordinance to assist in enforcing the State law, although open joints ran here in flagrant violation of the law until they were ousted, as mentioned above, by private enterprise.

When we have lax law enforcement, when joints spring up and swing open their doors, then the casual drinker and the "treater" reappear. When the traffic is outlawed, these men not seized of the habit shun the secluded stall in the livery barn and the hip-pocket dispenser of condensed devils. I am convinced, and I have data on which to base my contention, that in a whole year of bootlegging there was not as much liquor sold in this little city as in any fortnight during the days of the open saloon.

But even better evidence can be presented that prohibition does prohibit. No one with an ordinary amount of reason will deny that the brewers and distillers are in the liquor business to sell liquor. The more they sell, the larger their profits. If it is true that "prohibition does not prohibit," and that "more liquor is sold with prohibition than without it," then these gentlemen with the keen eye for which American big business has become world famous would certainly be the firmest friends of prohibition rather than its most implacable enemies.

Oklahoma has the initiative and referendum, and under its provisions we have passed through a vigorous "resubmission" campaign. A law was initiated substituting local option for prohibition. It was frequently charged during the campaign, and was palpably evident, that the bill was drawn up by attorneys for the wholesale liquor manufacturers. All the immense expense of the campaign, possibly a half-million dollars, certainly not less than four hundred thousand dollars, was borne by the brewers and distillers. A prominent and wealthy business man of Oklahoma City who served on the Executive Committee of the Business Men's League that promoted the "wet" campaign told me that he never gave a cent toward the campaign. "Didn't need to," said he; "money was all furnished." One newspaper was paid probably fifty thousand dollars for advertising space. Two or more workers were hired in every voting precinct at three dollars per day.

But, in spite of these vast resources and the cramped condition of the Anti-Saloon League's exchequer, the bill was badly beaten. If the brewers and distillers did not believe that prohibition prohibited, would they squander a half-million dollars fighting it? If the people of Oklahoma, after three years of trial, did not feel convinced that prohibition prohibited, would they vote for it with such a decisive majority?

Prohibition does prohibit. The case-hardened drinkers will get their liquor; but these are a surprisingly small number, and constantly growing fewer. The rest of the population will cease to crave it when the temptation of the open saloon is removed, the music, the bright lights, and the enticing room are all gone. The very fact that the liquor business is in every sense outlawed makes against it.

Prohibition does prohibit just in proportion to the zeal and earnestness of the citizenship that determines to make it prohibit. With all its lax enforcement, any one who has investigated the question in Oklahoma will be compelled to admit that prohibition has succeeded wonderfully well save in two or three counties. Now that the law has received the stamp of popular approval by an increased majority, the best people of the State mean to see to it that it succeeds everywhere.

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THE DEBT OF MODERN CIVILIZATION TO JUDAISM

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

THE widespread and long-continued prejudice against the modern Jew has in part its cause in characteristics common, though by no means universal, in that race. But whatever its cause, it is certain that this prejudice has blinded even tolerant and broad-minded men and women to the debt which modern civilization owes to the ideals which it has borrowed from the ancient life and literature of this people. To a frank recognition of that indebtedness—frank, but inadequate, because of the limitations of our space—this article is devoted.

In studying the life and literature of the ancient Hebrews as portrayed in the Old Testament the student should always bear in mind a simple principle which has often been ignored alike by the critics and the eulogists of that collection. It represents the developing life of a people through a period of at least a thousand years. It therefore portrays the crudities, the errors, and the vices of a people out of which they have been led, no less than the principles inculcated by their leaders. And in the Old Testament those defects in the national character are depicted with extraordinary fidelity. "Never," says Mr. Chamberlain in his work on "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," [1] "did a people give so comprehensive and broad a picture of its own personality as the Hebrew has done in his Bible." But in attempting to estimate the influence of any people upon modern thought and life we do not measure that influence by the ignorances, superstitions, and falsities of the common people, but by the truths which their great leaders have interpreted. We do not think the message of Great Britain has been absolutism because the Stuarts were absolutists, nor that the message of America is the righteousness of slavery because at one time in its history it maintained an almost pagan slave system. England is interpreted by its overthrow of the Stuarts and America by its emancipation of the slave. The slaughter of the Canaanites and the imprecatory psalms are not a part of the message of Israel. They simply indicate the native savagery of the people and make more luminous the message of their prophetic leaders. And this message itself was a developing message. The truth of God grows in the mind of a race as in the mind of the individual. In measuring the character and influence of a nation, we have to consider, not its condition at any one stage of its progress, but the direction in which it progressed; not the opinions of its majority, but the ideals of its leaders. What I seek to do in this article is to set before our readers certain fundamental principles inculcated by the great leaders of Israel and passing over from them through their literature into modern society.

It is certainly not true that the Hebrew prophets were the first monotheists. The great thinkers in all ages of the world and in all forms of religion have tended toward the belief in one Infinite and Eternal Energy. This was the philosophy, if it was not the faith, of the spiritual aristocracy of India and of Egypt in periods prior to any history of Israel which we possess. On the other hand, it is quite certain that in the early history of Israel the people believed in many gods; they rested content in the conviction that their God, Jehovah, was superior to the gods of the peoples round about. And it is by no means certain that this popular opinion was not for a time shared by some of their eminent leaders.

What was peculiar to the ancient Hebrews was their faith in a human God. The pagan nations—at least all those with whom they had any acquaintance—looked through nature to nature's god. Nature was to them the symbol and the

[1] In a review of this book, published in The Outlook last week jointly with one by Mr. Roosevelt, Dr. Abbott criticised Mr. Chamberlain's views of the Jewish people and their literature. The present article, though independent of that review, is supplementary to it.—THE EDITORS.

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interpretation of the Deity. Nature, therefore, in its various manifestations was the object of their reverence. Nature reverence took on a great variety of forms, from the worship of the sun to the worship of the sacred ox or the sacred beetle. Israel from the very beginning of its history went elsewhere for its symbol and interpretation of Deity. It looked, not through nature to nature's god, but through humanity to humanity's God. Signs of polytheism there are in Israel's history—that is, of the recognition, if not the adoration, of many gods; but there are no signs of nature worship except in occasional scathing condemnation of it as a departure from the faith of the fathers. The philosophers have coined a long word to represent this faith in a human God: they call it anthropomorphism, from two Greek words meaning in the form of man. The religion of Israel was frankly anthropomorphic.

Thus their fundamental faith does not merely appear in the declaration of the first chapter of Genesis that God made man in his own image. It is easy to put too much emphasis on a single text. That conception of creation might have been, and perhaps was, borrowed from a foreign and earlier source. But the whole Jewish conception of God, life, and duty rested on and was developed out of this idea—that it is within, not without, in the intellectual and moral life of man, not in the forms and phenomena of nature, that man is to look for his interpretation of the Being whom he is to reverence and obey. It is implied in the visit of the three human angels of the Lord to Abraham in his tent; in the report that Jehovah wrote the Ten Commandments with his finger on the tables of stone; in the appearance of the captain of Jehovah's host as a man with drawn sword in his hand to Joshua at Jericho; in the similar appearance of the angel of Jehovah to Gideon by the wine-press; in the appearance of the King, the Lord of Hosts, in the Temple to Isaiah; and in the vision of the Son of God in the fiery furnace with the three Hebrew children. It is implied in the figures of prophet and poet, who compare God rarely to any physical object, habitually to a human life. Like as a shepherd shepherdeth his sheep; like as a king ruleth over his people; like as a father pitieth his children; like as a mother comforteth her child—these and such as these figures direct the thoughts of Israel inward in their search for the Eternal. The customary prophetic phrase, "Thus saith Jehovah," inevitably suggests the human God speaking to his earthly companion.

Nor was this conception confined to the seers and prophets. It characterized the Temple service. In the Holy of Holies of all heathen temples a symbol of the Deity was enshrined. Such a symbol was enshrined in the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple. But there it was not an image of a physical object, but a symbol of a human experience. The symbol of the Deity was the Ten Commandments and the Altar of Mercy. Thus the Temple repeated the message of the prophets, saying to them, Would you know whom to worship? Look within. Worship the God who is interpreted by the law written in your conscience and by the compassion which you feel for the suffering and the sinful. It is not power, it is justice and mercy, which make Jehovah worthy of your reverence and your loyalty.

As the Jewish religion thus taught its votaries the humanness of God, it taught also, and by the same conception, the divinity of man. Man was made in the image of God; into man God has breathed the breath of his own life. Man is the offspring of God. Thou hast made him, said the Psalmist, little lower than God.[1] Thus the same fundamental conception of man's origin and nature taught the ancient Jew the approachableness of God and the dignity of man. And this aspect of man's inherent worth and dignity also is not dependent on a single text. It is implicit in the whole religious and political history of Israel. It is involved in the doctrine of possible fellowship between God and man, which is perhaps the most distinguishing note of the Old Testament. God is something more and other than a creative Being concealed behind nature; he is the Friend and Companion of man, gives him law and counsel and comfort. Jehovah, said Israel, is my shepherd. He leadeth me beside the still waters. If I stray, he restoreth my

[1] Psalm viii. 5, Revised Version.

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soul. If I come into darkness and the valley of the shadow of death, he goes with me there. He is my refuge and my fortress. Unknown he may be; but I can dwell in the secret place of the Most High: I can abide under the shadow of the Almighty. He hears me when I cry unto him. He assigns me my task and gives me strength to fulfill it. "To the Jew," says J. Cotter Morison, "God is the great companion, the profound and loving, yet terrible, friend of his inmost soul, with whom he holds communion in the sanctuary of his heart, to whom he turns, or should turn, in every hour of adversity or happiness."[1] All this implies, not only faith in God; it implies faith in one's self as being of kin to God and fitted for companionship with him.

But did not Israel believe that man had fallen and in that fall had lost this companionship? No! There is not the least evidence that he held any such opinion. There is in the third chapter of Genesis a parable of sin and fall, which truly interprets the individual experience of every soul when it steps aside from the path of innocency; but there is nothing in that chapter to indicate that the writer of it believed that the whole human race sinned in Adam and fell with him in the great transgression. No such doctrine is to be found, either expressed or implied, in the religious teachings of the Old Testament. There is not, after the third chapter of Genesis, from Genesis to Malachi any reference to the fall of man; nor any in the New Testament except incidentally and by way of suggestion in two of Paul's letters. It is a curious illustration of the unscripturalness of much of our theology that this doctrine of a historic fall and resultant depravity which has been made one of the foundation stones of Christian theology has nothing in the Bible to support it except a parable in the Old Testament and a parenthesis in the New.

It is because man is thus of kin to God that he can understand the law. It is addressed to his reason and his conscience. It is interpreted by his reason and his conscience. It is a reasonable and a just law, which is only another way of saying that it appeals to man's reason and sense of justice. In truth, the law was not something external given to him; it was an interpretation to him of his own nature. The law was the law of his own being; its enunciation by the prophet was simply an interpretation to him of himself. He had only to look within to find its verification and its sanction. Jehovah is portrayed by the author of the Book of Deuteronomy as saying to Israel:

> For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.[1]

And to the law he may yield or refuse obedience as he chooses. His freedom to obey or disobey is again and again put before Israel in emphatic terms. Thus in the Exodus account of God's giving the Ten Commandments to Moses for the government of the people, Jehovah is represented as putting to the people the question whether or no they will have him for their King. It is not until they have voted upon that question that he assumes the office of lawgiver and promulgates the law.[2] When some centuries subsequently the author of Deuteronomy puts before Israel a later interpretation and amplification of the law as it had been developed in the life of the nation, the same freedom of choice to obey or disobey is affirmed. "I have set before thee life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." Nor can I agree with those who think that it was cruel to warn the people of the ruin which would come upon the nation if they chose the path of national disobedience.

On this faith that man is capable of comprehending the moral law, and is endowed with power to obey or disobey it, was built the political ideals of Israel: its popular suffrage, its representative assemblies, its judiciary to administer the law and protect the poor and the feeble from the rich and strong; its constitu-

[1] "The Service of Man," p. 181.

[1] Deuteronomy xxx. 11–14.
[2] Exodus xix. 3–8.

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tional limitations on the monarch; its freedom of speech; its naïve and primitive, but not ineffectual, method for education; its prohibition of land monopoly, of hereditary aristocracy, of special privileges, and of priestly wealth and power.[1] On this also was based the prophetic anticipation of social and human development; of a good time coming when there would be no more war, but the implements of war would be beaten into agricultural tools; when law would be self-enforced by the conscience of mankind; when property would be equitably divided and poverty abolished; and when education and morality would be universal. It is true that this liberty, equality, and hope were in the thought of most of the people confined to their own nation. A few prophets looked beyond the boundaries of their race and country and had a larger vision of the coming Kingdom of God; but they were exceptions. This is not extraordinary. How many men in our own time recognize the rights, the abilities, and the hopes of any nation but their own? The provincialism of the American, the insularity of the Englishman, the self-conceit of the Frenchman, the stolid self-satisfaction of the German, are proverbial. At least we all recognize the narrowness in our neighbor if not in ourselves. Even in this day of steamships, railways, telegraphs, and newspapers the majority of mankind see with difficulty beyond their own territorial boundaries.

This intimacy of companionship between God and man, this presence of God in the experience of the individual and in the history of the race, and this kinship of nature between the father and his children was the essence of the Hebrew religion. Mr. Chamberlain in his interesting work on "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century" (quoted above) cites Schopenhauer as saying that "religion is the metaphysics of the people," and he himself declares that "religion has primarily nothing to do either with superstition or morals; it is a state of mind." We are aware that theologians have sometimes made of theology a metaphysics that had nothing to do with morals, but we do not remember ever to have seen this so frankly avowed and defended as "religion." Certainly this was not Israel's conception of religion. With this ancient people religion was, not a state of mind, but a state of loyalty. It was obedience to the law of God. And, as in the conception of Israel, as we have seen, this law was written in man's nature and was interpreted by his conscience, it was understandable by the common man and obedience to it was practicable. Out of this obedience to a divine law—which was both the law of God's nature and the law of man's nature—there grew mentally and morally an intimate and continual personal relationship between God and man. Nothing more than this obedience was necessary to establish this intimate relationship. Nothing more was required than to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God; and nothing less would be accepted.

The essence of the Jewish religion, then, may be stated in a sentence thus: God and man are kin; their natures are alike; the laws of one are the laws of the other; they are moral laws interpreted and enforced by the moral consciousness of man; and nothing more than obedience to those laws—that is, nothing more than living naturally, morally, holily, that is, healthfully—is necessary to establish companionship between the Son and his Father. The Christian religion, which is the completion or fulfillment of the Jewish religion, differs from it chiefly in this, that it presents in the life and person of the Supreme Man of Galilee the realization of what was before an unrealized ideal. Judaism is Christianity in the bud; Christianity is Judaism in the flower. What modern civilization owes to Judaism, fulfilled and unfulfilled, is this completion of the companionableness of God, the dignity of man, the moral relation established between the two, a relationship of parent and child, and the creative impulse which this conception has given to political institutions founded on the moral law and attempting to realize the spirit of justice and liberty in the social order.

[1] See my "Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews," Chapter V, and references there given. See also Wines's "Laws of the Ancient Hebrews."

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CAMORRA

BY ERNESTO SERAO

AUTHOR OF "THE HEAD OF THE CAMORRA"

SECOND PART

THE FIRST PART OF THIS ARTICLE, WHICH APPEARED IN THE OUTLOOK FOR JULY 29, WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN ACCOUNT, BY BARON BERNARDO QUARANTA DI SAN SEVERINO, OF THE CUOCOLO MURDERS AND THE STIRRING EVENTS WHICH LED UP TO THE SENSATIONAL TRIAL NOW GOING ON AT VITERBO

WHY SO MANY NEAPOLITAN CABMEN ARE CAMORRISTS— THE CAMORRA'S ASSISTANCE ASKED BY MINISTERS OF STATE AND HEADS OF POLICE

WORTHY of note is the fact that the Camorra's *élite* is composed chiefly of horse-dealers and bran-sellers, as one of the richest fields of profit is the purchase and sale of horses and the usury imposed upon cabmen for the purchase or hire of their vehicles.

Most of these bran-sellers are also cab proprietors and heartless usurers. They let their cabs at very high rates or sell them by usurious installments to the drivers, who are almost all under police surveillance for crimes previously committed.

In consequence of the rigor of the police since 1860, with such men as Lacava, Amore, Forni, Alfazio, and Sangiorgi at the head of the force, as some exotic scourge which in acclimatizing itself to a new land loses its native original virulence, the Camorra had already become what it has revealed itself to-day, and often the Camorrists themselves, so long as they were not interfered with in their more modern operations, have co-operated with the police to prevent or discover thefts, burglaries, etc.

It may be remembered that in 1901, when Commander Ermanno Sangiorgi was Chief of Police in Naples, Baroness Nicotera, the wife of the well-known Italian statesman Giovanni Nicotera, was robbed of a gold watch, set with diamonds, that was very dear to her. After the vain efforts of the police and of the political authorities to recover it, Ciccio Cappuccio, the influential Camorrist *par excellence*, was informed of the fact. The old man had a bran shop in Naples in the Piazza San Ferdinando, where he kept a beautiful picture of the Blessed Virgin, luxuriously adorned and with numberless candles ever burning before it, and in this shop he lived as if retired from the militant ranks of the *mala vita*.

The veteran Camorrist seemed very much struck by the fact, especially as it was whispered that, unless the jewel were found, a big raid would soon take place and Camorrists would be sent wholesale to the hard-labor colonies. No more words were necessary, and the watch, without any noise, was mysteriously laid by an invisible hand on the Baroness's writing-table with an anonymous note, offering many apologies and stating that the thief did not know, at the moment of the theft, that he was going to cause so much distress to the wife of the political chief of the Italian police. (Baron Giovanni Nicotera was at the time Minister of the Interior, and therefore at the head of the police of the entire Kingdom.)

A very similar case had happened only a few years before to the Royal State Prosecutor, Count Michele Pironti, who was afterwards Minister of Justice. While he was at a hearing in the court-room his beautiful gold snuff-box was stolen, and all the efforts of the police to locate it were fruitless. A friend of the magistrate, seeing that Count Pironti was worrying over the loss of this family heir-

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loom, informed an influential Camorrist, drawing his attention to the fact that such an insult had been offered to a man in that high position. The Camorrist listened and, moved by the account, promised his co-operation in order to find the precious snuff-box. In fact, his detectives were more successful than the State's, for two days later another invisible hand replaced gently on the magistrate's table the handsome trinket. Likewise, in many cases people who have suffered some theft do not denounce their loss to the police, either to avoid the long and unsuccessful trial or from the knowledge that, even if the culprits are found and punished, the stolen articles will not be restored. So they prefer to ask the help of the Camorrists, who know the various groups of persons likely to hear of similar transactions, and with great facility they almost always discover the right door at which to knock. The stolen articles are restored to their owners at a reasonable price, and the Camorrist keeps for himself a part of it proportionate to the value of the article itself; all to the great satisfaction of the party from whom it was stolen, who, even at cost of a sacrifice, is glad to regain possession of his property.

If by chance the theft should have been consummated by a thief who does not belong to the Camorra or any of its affiliated organizations, and he is discovered by them, he is not only obliged to give up all his booty without any compensation but undergoes severe punishment for his deed.

THE CONVENTIONAL MEANING OF THE KISS IN THE CAMORRA—THE KISS ON THE FOREHEAD, THE KISS ON THE CHEEKS: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE —THE CHRISTENING OF A CAMORRIST

Peculiar also is the traditional kiss of investiture, which is a very old custom of the Camorra and Mafia. Any one who is victorious over his adversary has a right to the kiss *on both cheeks* from all the associates who have witnessed the act. But this kiss is impressed by all the comrades and superiors in turn *on the forehead*, when it is meant to solemnize the promotion of a member to a higher degree in the organization of the Camorra. In this case, after the ceremony of the kiss they drink the stirrup cup to his health.

The real Camorrist feels the greatest admiration for a plucky non-associate who inflicts some daring punishment on a Camorrist. Some years ago a very prominent young cavalry officer had exemplarily horsewhipped the impudent and overbearing cabman who had just driven him home, and was slowly ascending the steps of his mansion, when a dirty, liquor-smelling man threw his arms around his neck and, kissing him enthusiastically on both cheeks, exclaimed: "Your Excellency! I *must* kiss you. You do not know *whom* you have lashed!" explaining afterwards that the vanquished cabman was no less than a "head of society" (*capo suggità*), dreaded by all the cab proprietors of one of the most powerful Camorristic sections.

It is not unusual to find in one of those poetical little restaurants under flowery bowers or on the seashore a great tableful of people who make the air resound with laughter and gay songs, and to see that at a given moment all the diners will get up and, one after the other, with religious composure, go and give one kiss on the forehead or two kisses on the cheeks to one of their number, who remains seated throughout the ceremony. To outsiders they will say it is the fraternal kiss given to a friend newly confirmed, when instead it is the ceremony of the christening of a new Camorrist or the exaltation of one of them to a superior rank, and it is not improbable that this peculiar christening has been preceded by a bloody ablution. Women are not supposed to participate in these ceremonies, and if, through special circumstances, they are present, they do not know the meaning of them.

WOMAN IN THE CAMORRA—THE *BASISTA* OR BURGLARY PLANNER—THE *BASISTA* OF THE CUOCOLO TYPE

Women do not belong to the Camorra. They are a subject of exploitation, a kind of merchandise of the Society, and are instrumental in crimes, but they cannot belong to the rank and file of the association.

If a Camorrist's daughter or wife gets hold of a secret belonging to the Society, she is strictly bound to keep it, and if, by loquacity, which is said to be the essence of her sex, she commits an indiscretion,

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she becomes liable to the same punishment contemplated for *'nfamità*—denunciation—of the men. The murder of Cuocolo's wife is the best illustration of this rule.

Also the *basista*—planner of burglaries—and all the receivers of stolen goods are excluded from the files of the Camorra proper, much as these gentlemen are thrown with the Camorrists, in whose business they are closely connected. A *basista's* wife or sweetheart may be herself a most useful *basista*.

Basista is the man who lays the plans that are the foundation of a burglary and devises the means of bringing it to execution. Obtaining access to a wealthy house through his gentlemanly appearance, securing the confidence of the owners or otherwise, he studies, works out his project, and gives to the executors the plan of the burglary; in short, he is an artist burglar, and after he has sold his project he leaves it to the hands and to the risk of the executors. But if perchance he is also among the executors, he can claim a higher percentage of profits on account of the personal risk incurred in the execution.

The regular *basista* of the Cuocolo type, however, is generally only a project-maker. He cannot submit to the hardships and emotions of night enterprises; he must not arouse the least suspicion in the mind of his neighbors as to his perfect respectability; he must be content with staying in the background and going into the field only to explore, study, and lay a plan which will facilitate the decisive battle, in which he will not participate.

The *basisti* are therefore very little known to the police, and they are scarcely ever seen at the periodical Camorristic meetings. They constitute a kind of secret reserve force.

The *basista* is the most refined type of organized delinquency, because he is the bright, directing mind, a war spy, so to speak, who is known only to the Camorrists who employ him.

How many *basisti* have died, esteemed as saintly men by the same people whom they had damaged through burglaries planned and directed by them! Any servant can be a *basista*—a cook or a maid who discloses to her friends the topography of the house, gives indications as to the pieces of furniture, where sufficient booty may be found, and information as to her master's mode of life and habits.

After the burglary has been executed an estimate is made of the booty. There is an authorized Camorrist expert for each Camorristic section, who is generally a dealer in second-hand goods. After his estimate the booty is usually sold by private auction to whoever gives something more than the expert's valuation. If there is more than one bidder, then there is a public auction sale. Out of the proceeds of the sale so much is due to the *basista*, so much to the Camorrist who had knowledge of the burglary and patronized it, so much to the sectional chief of the society, and, when the burglary is a very important one, a small offering—"a flower," as it is called—is sent to the Supreme Head of the Camorra; the remainder, which is usually a meager thing, is divided among the material executors of the deed.

From all that has been said it is easy to see that, if the Camorra proper has only a membership of about one thousand, those connected with it and on whom direct extortion is practiced are tens of thousands.

THE IMPOSING FUNERAL OF A FAMOUS CAMORRIST

When Ciccio Cappuccio, the famous Supreme Head of the Camorra, died, there were more people at his funeral than at that of a genuine crowned head, though, as was to be expected, they were different people from those one generally sees at a funeral. If Dante had seen the torrent, which it is difficult to call human, that flooded and terrorized Naples on that day, he would without doubt have added a new species of demon to the circles of his Inferno. If Lombroso had found himself among that throng, he would have added an interesting chapter to his work on delinquency. Yet the scamps following that funeral were not on that day disfigured by wrath or insatiable lust; they meant, on the contrary, to express sorrow for the chief who had passed away, and in this frame of mind were even more horrible. On that memorable day, under the sun that gilds the Naples panorama as well as its dirt, were seen

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faces that made you shiver, owls' eyes brought suddenly to light, anthropomorphic skulls, gaits of wolves and gorillas, and there were thousands and thousands of faces unknown to the majority of Neapolitans. It seemed as if some huge tribe coming from unknown lands had during the night invaded Naples. That inferior, brutalized race, which is never brought to breathe the fresh air, to enjoy the sun's rays, or participate in civil life, does not live in caves or in grottoes, as some African tribe. No, they dwell and multiply in Neapolitan lodgings. *Dwell* is scarcely the right word, as their life is passed in what Naples has of dirtiest, most unhealthy and squalid. They cannot be called houses or hovels, nor even dens, the wretched lodgings of these people who are the infantry of the *mala vita*, in which the Camorra represents the learned military corps. They are inferior to the holes of the rats and mice with whom they share their shelter and their dirty meals!

PLUCKY TESTS REQUIRED FOR APPOINTMENT AND PROMOTION IN THE CAMORRA — THE *MANDRIERE*, OR THE FASHIONABLE TYPE OF A SNOBBISH CAMORRIST

As a rule, the appointment or promotion of a Camorrist is solemnized by a great outing or picnic festival. Sometimes a social banquet is given also on the occasion of a *picciuotto* being initiated, as this is a kind of novitiate of the Honorable Society. To become a *picciuotto 'e sgarro* it is necessary to accomplish an act of daring bravery, to participate in a bloody deed or in some great Camorristic affair, the profits of which, of course, go to the prominent members of the Society.

Some very dreadful crimes committed against very peaceful and quiet people are told of; a few years ago a young man full of life and vigor was stabbed in Naples' most fashionable thoroughfare by a lad, under the pretext of having been given a casual knock in the street. It was instead the practical examination of a *guaglione 'e mala vita* desirous of entering the higher rank of *picciuotto*, and the author of the fearful crime unanimously received promotion.

Another lad, blackballed several times, passed at last the Camorristic examination through a most cowardly murder, the assassination of a poor old man whom he had never before seen; and he also received at once the coveted degree of *picciuotto*. This is a honorary degree and not a professional one, as the *picciuotto* is not a professional in the *mala vita*, because he has no share in the social dividend. If he wishes to live on other people's money, he must do the best he can by stealing, cheating, or swindling whom he can, giving, however, to his superiors of the Camorra proper the *sbruffo* or proportionate percentage.

Only the regular Camorrist participates in the social dividends. In the prisons, when there are *picciuotti* and Camorrists, the former must make the beds and wait upon the latter, collect the dues from the non-associates and give them to the *cuntaiuolo*, or treasurer, who will pass the amount to his superiors. The *cuntaiuolo* must produce every Saturday a balance-sheet giving an account of all the dues collected during the week. As before said, the *picciuotti* do not receive anything as "right of Camorra," but their superiors usually let them have something in view of their assiduous and diligent attentions, and this optional profit is called the *sgarro*. Thus the imprisoned Camorrists often send out to their families handsome sums of money. These families enjoy just the same the "right of Camorra" (*sbruffo*), and the wives and children of the Camorrist receive every week from the *cuntaiuolo* of the gang to which he belonged the sum of money which would have been due to him had he been at liberty. It is a sort of pension for the time being, which helps along the families of the incarcerated men.

Some Camorrists, through the *sbruffo*, have been able to lay aside a good deal of money, and then they lead a very easy life, as was the case with de Marinis, the famous *Mandriere*, who is one of the chief figures of the Viterbo trial, and on whose life some very romantic pages could be written.

This former herdsman represents the type of the snobbish and fashionable Camorrist, who is no longer satisfied with exciting the envy of the men of his own class by the ostentation of a comfortable life, but tries to mimic the *grand seigneur*.

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He lives in a fashionable neighborhood, dresses according to the latest London fashion, has horses, carriages, automobiles, mingles among the fashionable younger set of men, obliging them occasionally with loans, making easier their dealing with usurers, helping them in critical moments at roulette. He goes to Monte Carlo, and speaks of Paris as if he spent several months of the year there. This up-to-date Camorrist is the business man of the equivocal set of society, but he occasionally worms himself into some circle of the higher classes; he is a civilized adventurer, shrewd and effeminate, not so much by natural tendency as for the success of his cause. Such a Camorrist commands great respect and has much authority among his own associates; this is why the accusation of *'nfamità* (denunciation), formulated by the *Mandriere* against Gennaro Cuocolo and Maria Cutinelli, had, according to the prosecution, a decisive weight in the death sentence pronounced against them by the Camorra Tribunal.

HOW ERRICONE WAS APPOINTED SUPREME HEAD OF THE CAMORRA—THE CAMORRA UNDER ERRICONE'S LEADERSHIP

Whenever there is disagreement on the appointment to the various high offices of the Camorra, it is decided by a *dichiaramento*, or duel. It so happened when Totonno 'o Pappavallo, the famous *capo in testa* (Supreme Head of the Camorra), was arrested. There was a general movement in favor of the very young Errico Alfano, nicknamed Erricone, the protagonist of the present Viterbo trial, who was elected temporary Supreme Head of the Camorra.

When Totonno came out of the San Francesco prison and heard that Erricone meant to keep the supreme command, he laughed heartily and branded his antagonist as a coward and a child. Alfano then formally challenged him, and the encounter took place in the Piazza dei Vergini in Naples, one of the favorite Camorristic squares, where Totonno went *mezzo vestuto* (half dressed, viz., half armed)—that is to say, armed only with a knife—thinking his adversary would not be so cowardly as to avoid the traditional *zumpata*. But Erricone had brought only firearms, and as soon as he faced Totonno he drew his revolver to fire. Totonno laughed derisively. He had with him his faithful dog, who never left him. It was a famous bloodhound, who, when his master was *'nfrisco* (in prison), was on duty in the narrow streets around the penitentiary, and was there punctually fed with goodly portions of bread and meat by the faithful followers of the dreaded Camorrist. This same dog, who until then had remained quietly crouching at his master's feet, suddenly leaped at Erricone's hand, causing his revolver to fall to the ground.

Erricone drew another pistol and fired one shot, but the dog caught his sleeve and caused the bullet to deviate. But a second shot barely grazed Totonno's face. He laughed again, called his dog, and turned his back upon Erricone, exclaiming, "Your mouth still smells of milk!"

Nevertheless, the assembly of the Camorra chiefs voted with a big majority for the definite appointment of Erricone, who in this duel, unequal as it had been, had succeeded in touching his opponent.

Under Erricone's leadership the Camorra has become more wicked than ever. He has enjoyed great popular favor for eight or nine years, but in the meanwhile the sectional Camorristic communities have acquired greater autonomy and have abolished the office of *cuntaiuolo generale*, or treasurer-general, of the twelve Camorristic sections of Naples and of the four suburban ones of Capodimonte, Fuorigrotta, San Giovanni a Teduccio, and Barra. This treasurer-general had in the past almost the same authority as a *capo in testa*, because he was the collector of all profits.

Since then the general assembly gathers only for questions of large importance, as was the case for the suppression of the *basista* Cuocolo and of his loquacious wife, Maria Cutinelli, who were deemed harmful to the vital interests of the whole Society.

THE STATE LOTTERY A BOON FOR CAMORRISTIC USURY IN NAPLES

When the Camorrists have accumulated a certain amount of money, they become *capitalisti*—that is to say, they become enrolled in the large army of money-lenders that wins every week a

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noiseless battle against the poor, devouring their salaries, swallowing up their meager resources, blasting their hopes before they begin to bud. These *capitalisti* become propagators of that atrocious Neapolitan poison, usury, the worst enemy of any initiative that might give the lower classes a chance of true economic betterment.

Usury is for Naples what absinthe is for France, its slow, inexorable destroyer, the formidable enemy whose power and deadliness no scourge could ever equal; and this usury is practiced by the Camorrists on the poor with more advantage than on the rich. Among the poor whoever is not an evil-doer is a victim of usury, which has another powerful ally and instrument in the *giuoco del lotto* (State lottery).

This subtle, consuming usury is practiced chiefly on the longed-for Saturday, when all Neapolitans feel that they *must* play, and on that dreadful day people who lack a few cents to buy a piece of bread, who languish in the grinding straits of unemployment, chiefly on account of this famished and hopeless condition, are driven to get together, *at any cost*, the twenty or thirty cents that will enable them to try their luck; and on that day the small capitalist is there, like a vampire in ambush spying upon its victim, counting its heart throbs, measuring their intensity, and holding out the meager sum that will rivet another link to the chain of a debt that is forever renewed and will accompany these unfortunate people to their graves! This slavery imposed upon poverty and illusion makes its victim either a martyr who, cent by cent, has to give back all he is capable of earning, or a blind instrument in the hands of his despot.

THE FAMOUS CAMORRIST CONVICT TOBIA BASILE AND HIS CURIOUS PSYCHOLOGY—CRIME AND RELIGION—MURDER AND SENTIMENTALISM—THE PECULIAR DIARY OF THIS MODERN CAMORRIST

Another famous and modern type of Camorrist, now relegated for good to the penitentiary, was Tobia Basile, nicknamed "Scarpa Leggia," a stolid and wizened old man. Condemned to death in 1860 for a ferocious murder perpetrated by him, his sentence was commuted and he passed thirty years in a penitentiary. Upon returning to society he settled in the village of Fuorigrotta, a very important Camorristic stronghold. His old wife was very loquacious, and this annoyed the ex-convict, who was as silent as a mathematician. Tobia Basile was a kind of philosopher with some literary tendencies. In the penitentiary the alphabet had been driven into his tardy brain, and the secluded life he had led for so many years had accustomed him to meditations, which he would jot down in a small diary—an almost unheard-of thing in the annals of the Camorra.

As a true member of the Honorable Society, however, he used a jargon or figurative language even in his private notes. His note-book, therefore, could not have been deciphered by any one not acquainted with the cryptography and paleography of the Camorra. The stranger who should have read them would have taken the venerable writer for an Arcadian poet or for a sentimental admirer of the radiant nature around him. These are a few of his notes:

"May 1, *The violets are out.*"

"June 11, *I have pruned my garden.*"

"August 10, *How beautiful is the sun!*"

"September 12, *So many fine sheep are passing!*"

One day his wife disappeared. He seemed sorrowful and resigned. "Who would have thought it at *that* age!" he echoed to his neighbors' sympathy. "His wife was advanced in years, it was true, but . . . that cousin was such a tempter!"

All the neighbors said they had known all along that Don Tobia Scarpa Leggia was an unlucky husband, but no one had ever told him, out of respect for his white hair; now, however, there was no more reason for secrecy. "Yes, poor old man, he was much to be pitied on account of the frivolity of that ungrateful woman," they repeated among themselves. "Poor Scarpa Leggia!" . . .

The sphinx-like old ivory face of Tobia Basile now and then would show a sudden emotion. "Of course he was suffering for the betrayal of which he had been the innocent victim, but he was trying not to show his grief! There was no help for it! But it must be torture to keep on living within those same walls from which

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the unfaithful woman had fled!" his neighbors said.

They advised him to move, and at last he acted upon the charitable suggestion and went to live in another lodging. He stayed there some years, occasionally visited by his mysterious associates and receiving stolen goods. In spite of his advanced age, he never failed to take part in the religious pilgrimages to Our Lady of Montevergine, to the Madonna dell'Arco, to San Paolino di Nola, and to the Virgin of Pompeii, to whom he devoutly offered candles. It was evident that in his late years Tobia Basile meant to earn his little piece of paradise.

Then, one day, when every one had forgotten the domestic trials of the ex-convict, a building contractor was called in to rebuild part of the lodging that had been occupied by him. As the wall was demolished, a corpse, well preserved by lime, was found in it. It was the body of the supposed unfaithful wife.

Tobia Basile was arrested. He denied having murdered his wife and having entombed her in a niche excavated in the wall. His diary was seized. On May 7, 1900, the day she had disappeared, seemingly always in homage to his hobby for gardening, he had written: "Water to the beans!" Nothing else. The entry looked most innocent, but, unfortunately, there are experts capable of deciphering even the more or less poetical thoughts of the veteran Camorrist, and one of these explained that "water to the beans," in the high and complicated Camorristic code, meant, "I have killed and buried her!" Only then did Tobia Basile find it useless to continue pleading not guilty.

Yes, it was true. He had killed his wife with one heavy blow after a joyful dinner on the 7th of May. Then, as a faithful husband, he had not wanted to part from the old woman, and had walled her in with quicklime. He had killed her on account of her loquacity, because during a domestic quarrel she had threatened to denounce him to the police. He said he could have forgiven this woman, who showed herself such a degenerate offspring of an "honorable" family of Camorrists, but the secrets of his friends and comrades were in grave danger, and this was too much.

After she had been made silent and harmless, he had wanted to pay her a very tender and delicate attention, allowing her to remain near him, only a few yards from the marital bed. The place where he built the strange sarcophagus was near the fireplace, in order that the fresh wall should dry sooner; that walled corpse near the kitchen stove was a kind of guardian angel of the household. Who would have thought to find so much imagination in that old Tobia Basile!

Imaginative and a believer! As a sign of expiation he had placed in the hidden niche a big picture of the Virgin of Pompeii, and he religiously kept before this image a candle ever burning. Afterwards he explained that he had wanted to pay that tribute to the poor dead, that her soul might rest in peace. On the first few nights after his deed it seemed to him as if the wall trembled, as if something were alive in its cavity and made itself heard by slow tappings; his wife, he concluded, was restless in there and *needed some comfort*. He had then had recourse to the picture of the protecting Virgin and to the candle, and since then the *dead had been quiet!*

Later on the throbbings, the slow tappings, began to be again troublesome and annoying. Tobia Basile, in order to find liberation, was obliged to move somewhere else.

TATTOOING IN THE CAMORRA—THE GLORIOUS CONSTELLATION OF SCARS ON THE BODY OF A CAMORRIST—THE MOST UP-TO-DATE SCHOOL FOR THIEVES

This typical old Camorrist, who has now been forever confined to an Italian penitentiary, a kind of oceanic necropolis hewed in the rock of its enchanting islands, among other things was a fine teacher of tattooing, and had produced some very skillful disciples in the prison and outside.

Tattooing is like an emblem of Camorristic nobility. The *zumpate* or *dichiaramenti* leave scars on the Camorrist's skin that are his pride. He counts the battles he has fought by the number of scars on his body, as a general who has known the grapeshot's caress and the fury of a cavalry charge. On the body of Pasquale Gargiulo, the famous Camorrist, who per-

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haps was the most skillful shot (*sparatore*) of his class, and who had participated in about one hundred *dichiaramenti* and *zumpate*, the medical authorities found no less than thirty old scars, a glorious Camorristic constellation. But along with the glory of their wounds these scoundrels like to bear on their skin the visible impressions of their tendencies, ambitions, hatreds, and affections. Thus tattooing is the pictured history of the life of these uncivilized and fanatical primitive types, whose tastes have so many points in common with those of the most ferocious African and Australian tribes.

As Lombroso and his wonderful school have proved, tattooing is one of the most characteristic expressions of the original barbarous state. The Camorrist of Naples, like the ferocious Apache of Montmartre and la Villette, has the fanatic pride of tattooing in common with the Negro of Borneo and the cannibal of the Katonga. He better enjoys the beauty of his body, he feels more pride, more courage, he thinks he has more authority over the humble, if he can display an artistically tattooed arm with fine arabesques and significant signs, if his body can boast of traces of indomitable power and graphic documents to attest his past daring deeds. The slayer of wild beasts of Ethiopia likes to add a feather to his headgear for each lion he kills; the professional Camorrist, fighting with knife or dagger, submits with enthusiasm to the painful operation that will add a new hieroglyphic to the allegorical picture on his chest, his arms, or his back, traced there to show forever that he was a valiant man. The symbol may be a pierced heart, a lion who crushes a sheep, some interwoven initials, a suggestive motto, a piece of gross profanity, or a word speaking of his triumph over a despised rival or persecutor, the name of a woman, the image of a pistol, some crossed daggers, etc.

Ferdinando Russo, the well-known popular Neapolitan poet, who, in his beautiful sonnets and songs full of sentiment, has vividly pictured the life of the Neapolitan lower classes, has, among other things, written some very artistic pages describing the wonderful work of *Luisella Lume a giorno*, a very skillful tattooer, who for no less than thirty years traced and painted into flesh a huge corporal iconography. She is now dead and her art has gone down, but Tobia Basile tried to revive it, and used to teach it along with a special course of perfection in the art of stealing. His numerous pupils used to go to his lessons regularly, to listen to his advice, to learn from him the science of "prudence in crime," for he was a walking encyclopædia of the art of the *mala vita*. His long stay in the penitentiary, his cold and reflective temperament, his cleverness, and his venerable age made him a much-heeded master. For a few cents he would teach the art of stealing from a puppet entirely covered with numberless tiny bells that would jingle at the slightest touch; he taught the *frieno* of the Beautiful Reformed Society and the chief rules to be observed in order to conform to its spirit, the art of dealing a straight or a treacherous blow, the way of slipping along the floor without making any noise, the secrets of the Camorristic jargon, a quantity of methods successful in diverting the attention of the police, the way of behaving in the courts, various kinds of clever thefts, the most improved methods of face-scarring, and all the numberless swindles committed against the stupid emigrant who, coming from the provinces, stops a few days in Naples on his way to America. This extraordinary man was in possession of a complete outfit of false keys, files, and picklocks, and taught the aspirants all that it was necessary to know before being initiated into the Honorable Society.

THE CONCORDIA, OR THE MOST ACTIVE JUVENILE CENTER OF CAMORRISTIC PROPAGANDA

The Concordia has as bad a name in Naples as the Vicaria, Santa Maria Apparente, the Carmine, San Francesco, which are among the most disgusting criminal sewers of the world. It is a prison for juvenile delinquency. Six hundred young lives from thirteen to eighteen years of age breathe in that place the poison, the mephitic evil with which the old walls of that squalid and too small building are saturated. The fondest dream of homeless lads, of all the vagrants without a roof, who are seen at night lying on the sidewalks of the narrow streets in heaps of tens and twenties, as in an en-

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tanglement of small snakes—the greatest aspiration of these miserable little beings is to go to the Concordia.

"I have been in prison three times!"

"And I have been locked in five times and have to my credit two thefts, an assault, and three duels!"

This is what you hear these little chaps exclaim with pride, some of whom have faces already scarred with the traces of their mode of life.

In the long hours of liberty accorded to them, when they are allowed to walk about in the open air of the prison yards, they chat together of the fabulous Camorristic deeds and extol with warm words of admiration the braveries, magnified by legend, attributed to the great Camorrists, and organize among themselves a society that reproduces in miniature the Camorra of the prisons for grown-up people and of the twelve boroughs of Naples, which is for them the "great good mother." So among these young prisoners takes place the organized extortion, and the young aspiring candidates practice and drill themselves there in the *zumpata*, the artistic jumping duel, each trying to strike his adversary in order to obtain promotion; and Tobia Basile, in spite of his old age, had still enough agility to teach some secret movements of wonderful effect. This teaching is practiced with daggers and knives made out of very hard wood, the blows of which sometimes have proved as fatal as if they came from steel blades. Basile's pupils were almost all of tender age, former guests of the Concordia or aspirants to become its inmates, the younger set of the Camorra, and from this very set sprang out a gang of criminals who, coming into power, adopted the reforms which led to the organization of the Bella Suggità Riformata (Beautiful Reformed Society), or the Camorra of the present day.

CONCLUSION—POSITION OF THE CAMORRA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY—ITS ARRAIGNMENT BY THE ITALIAN HISTORIAN PASQUALE VILLARI—WHAT IS REALLY NECESSARY IN ORDER TO STAMP OUT THE CAMORRA—WHAT IS THE DUTY OF ITALY

The Beautiful Society now has some important members locked away in the prisons of Viterbo, and a great number of its associates wandering in strange lands; but will this be enough to eliminate the infection? Experience, unfortunately, denies it. The *mala vita* is in Naples in the twentieth century more or less in the same conditions described thirty years ago by the great living Italian statesman Pasquale Villari in his famous "Lettere Meridionali." He then wrote: "Every effort to defeat the Camorra will be vain if, while trying to root out the evil by repressive measures, preventive means are not also employed. I will never tire of repeating that so long as the present uncivilized state of things continues, the Camorra will be the necessary outcome of the conditions of society in southern Italy which I have described."

You can imprison, segregate, disperse, terrify, the Camorrists; they will reconstitute themselves, they will spread and pour out new germs, will rear fresh adepts in the prisons, where there is not the courage to segregate them, in the islands of their forced exile, in the far-away penitentiary colonies, from which they will send forth their pupils wisely trained.

The chief task, not only of Naples, but of the whole Italian nation, is to circumscribe, limit, and reduce to the least possible proportions this nursery of evil with the knife of civilization. A series of wise and energetic measures, inspired by real national feeling, will give better results for the welfare of this beautiful and enchanting city than any special law or bounty granted by Government and Parliament.

You who have the power, watch over the tender human plants, especially in the orphan asylums, in the juvenile prisons; watch the vagrants, not with the eye of the philanthropist or as a casual observer of curious social phenomena, but with paternal eyes; and give education to the people, show them and make them appreciate work and the great joys of rehabilitation, give them schools and free them from the hands of the usurer who devours them. Open wide the windows of civilization on the sad, gloomy, and squalid theater of their sorrows, miseries, and shames. The hovel, the disgusting Neapolitan hovel, abominable nursery of evil, pestiferous place of moral degradation, has not been destroyed by the hatchet of the

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Commercial Building Society that has transformed the whole exterior of the old Naples. No; the hovels still exist worse than ever at the back of the rich mansions, built on the ruins of other such dens. To demolish them all a new, more courageous, energetic, and sensible action is necessary, in the light of the sun, to purify the infected soil of the Camorra. When this shall have been done, society will not only have accomplished a charitable and philanthropic work, but will have protected its very life and prepared its own salvation.

THE MAKING OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNS

BY HERBERT FRANCIS SHERWOOD

ONE day in January the writer passed along the easterly side of Printing House Square, New York. At the mouth of the narrow street across which the giant eye of the "World" looks down on the pygmy "Sun" were the usual fakers and newspaper venders shouting their wares. A vocal headline not noted on previous journeys through this neighborhood came from the mouth of a young man holding in his hand a bundle of flamboyantly colored pamphlets, whose cover bore pictures of Uncle Sam, the "Birdofredum," the American ægis, and the flag of the United States, jumbled together in a manner supposed, doubtless, by the superficial psychologist responsible for the design to be particularly efficacious as a lure to those inclining toward American citizenship.

"Rules and regulations how to become an American citizen, only ten cents," shouted the street vender. The hypnotic eloquence of the faker almost persuaded that the doorway was now open for any one to become an American sovereign at the modest cost for enthronement of only a dime.

There was a time when the thoughtful citizen might have been, and doubtless was, troubled about the ease of becoming naturalized. That was in the palmy period of the notorious "Boss" Tweed, when, according to the Commission on Naturalization appointed by President Roosevelt, in the course of a single day one New York judge issued 2,500 certificates, and in the course of a month, that of October, 1868, immediately prior to the election of President Grant, two judges in New York County granted approximately fifty-four thousand such documents. At as recent a date as 1902 it was thought that twenty-five thousand fraudulent certificates were in use in the elections of New York City, and that ten per cent of these were not on record in the courts by which they were supposed to have been granted. It is almost superfluous to add that conditions in other parts of the country, to put it mildly, were not ideal.

Those days have passed. The pathway to naturalization in most of the States is no longer the easy highway to political privilege it once was. Before the enactment of the Naturalization Law of 1906 aliens were made citizens first and their right to be such, if it chanced to be questioned, was inquired into afterwards; otherwise, not at all. The shoe is now on the other foot. Investigation precedes admission to our citizenship roll. The impediments are now so great that in the city of New York the machinery which once ground out citizens like corn-meal is sadly clogged.

There are two details of naturalization which are worthy of particular consideration, and which ought to be remedied. The first is a defect in the statutes, which can only be remedied by Congress. The second is a lack of uniformity in the exercise of the judicial functions connected with the administration of the law.

The blemish in the law is the requirement of a declaration of intention on the

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part of the alien. Although this declaration has long been a detail of the process of naturalization in this country, whatever reason there may have been for it has ceased to exist. It does not confer any legal right in a national sense except that of taking up a homestead on the public lands, yet it serves to place the alien in an anomalous position. He becomes neither an aerial, a terrestrial, nor a marine organism, and is left dangling between heaven and earth, for he has put himself in a dubious relationship with the land of his birth and has not been accepted in the land whose flag he intends to adopt. With the exception of Mexico, the United States is the only country in which an alien must make known in advance his intention of becoming naturalized. In the Central American Republic the interval between declaration and fulfillment must be six months. The American law specifies that a petition for naturalization shall be filed ninety days prior to action by the court. This is analogous to the Mexican requirement, and, owing to the necessity for documentary and other forms of proof of the accuracy of the statements of the petitioner bearing upon the length of his residence in the country, is the only preliminary notice of intention which ought to be required. It is true that in certain States an alien who has declared his intention acquires certain rights. He may hold real estate. In nine also—and this is the chief reason for eliminating the requirement—the alien immediately becomes eligible to the electorate.

The declaration of intention has been described as a "fruitful source of the major part of the evils and frauds practiced on the [naturalization] laws." This was the language employed by Congressman Oates, of Alabama, in a report to the House of Representatives from the Committee on the Judiciary in 1892, recommending its abolition. The more positive "evils" apparently have been eliminated by the new law. Some, however, remain in certain of the nine States which grant the ballot immediately following the declaration. For instance, in Indiana, between October 1, 1906, the date when the new law went into effect, and June 30, 1910, the end of the last fiscal year, the number of declarations was 16,021, while the number who applied for naturalization within the same period was only 892, or 5.6 per cent. The average percentage of petitions to declarations in the States which require a completion of the process of naturalization as a prerequisite to voting is 30.96. Nearly all of those who make declarations in the Hoosier State do so just before an election. In the off year of 1907–08 only 772 declarations were filed. In the course of the following fiscal year an election was held to determine whether Taft or Bryan should serve the country as President. In the first quarter of that year (July, August, and September) 660 aliens announced their intentions regarding citizenship. In the second quarter (October, November, and December) the number was 6,697. This was followed by a period of stagnation in the naturalization offices. In the third quarter only seventy-one made statements as to their future course. These figures tell the whole story. In Indiana the alien is asking himself, "Why should I become a citizen?" and answering the question logically. Moreover, the politicians are taking advantage of the situation and using the alien for their own ends. Fortunately, in the remainder of the nine States, although the opportunity is present, advantage has not been taken of it in the same degree.

To the applicant, although he may not know it, the road will be easier if his case is heard by certain judges than if by others. This is due to the lack of uniformity in administration which has been mentioned. The judges look upon naturalization from individual points of view, and some require much less of the future citizen than do others. Each has his reputation in this respect. The writer a few months ago attended a session of the New York Supreme Court devoted to naturalization cases. In the course of forty-five minutes twenty-two petitioners were examined and admitted and the cases of seven others were adjourned. The amount of time given to each, therefore, was approximately ninety seconds. In the course of this period the examiner from the office of the Department of Commerce and Labor, whose duty it is to investigate petitions, questioned the appli-

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cant and the two witnesses, and the justice administered the oath. Not one question did the justice ask, and, so far as the writer observed, he did not even signify his attitude toward the petition by so much as a nod or a shake of the head. The gatekeeper appeared to be the deciding factor, as he waved the witnesses aside and directed the petitioner to raise his hand to take the oath of allegiance. While the applicant at the head of the line was being passed, those awaiting their turn were lined up behind the rail in a procession and the witness's oath was administered by a clerk. Business, clearly, was being expedited. The examiner, perhaps because he thought failure to answer the questions properly would make no difference, assisted in relieving the proceeding of dignity by the leading character of the questions asked.

"Who make the laws of the State?" he inquired of one applicant.

"Congress."

"Congress, did you say?" with an inflection indicating that the answer was not correct, but that the applicant might have another chance.

"The Legislature."

"How is the Legislature divided?"

"The House of Representatives and the House of Senate."

"Did you ever hear of the House of Assembly?"

"Yes."

"Where does the House of Assembly make the laws?"

The applicant hesitated for a moment and finally guessed "Albany."

After this petitioner had taken the oath a heavy, unintelligent-looking Russian with trembling jowls came before the judge.

"Who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army?" asked the examiner.

No answer except mumbled guesses which were unintelligible.

"What happens to the United States flag when a State is admitted to the Union?"

No answer.

"How many States in the Union?"

"Forty-eight," was the quick response. Apparently this was in the catechism which had been drilled into his head in preparation for the examination.

"Did we ever belong to Russia?"

"Yes, sir, Russian Poland."

Following his admission to the electorate a florid-cheeked Rumanian Jew in the prime of life presented himself. He was well dressed and appeared intelligent.

"What is the Constitution?"

"The laws," replied the would-be citizen who was about to acknowledge his attachment to the principles of this document.

"Does the Legislature make the Constitution?"

Hesitation, followed by no response.

"How are United States Senators elected?"

The petitioner admitted that he did not know.

"How do we get a sheriff?"

"He is appointed."

This is contrary to the fact in New York State.

Another, asked to tell the difference between this country and Russia, answered correctly from his point of view, but hardly in the way intended, when he said, "It's better."

"Do the people of the United States have anything to say about who shall rule over them?" was the next question.

"No, sir," he replied in a low, hesitating voice.

The next in the line was a saloonkeeper.

"Where do we make the laws of the United States?"

"Albany." This answer, after a little coaching, was changed to "Washington."

He could not state who ran against Gaynor in the mayoralty race, nor how it chanced that Mayor Gaynor was elected except that he was "a good man."

While the petitioners were being heard a gentleman who said he was from Oregon, and apparently was a judge, approached the writer and remarked: "This is a farce. We don't do things this way out in Oregon. They have to show that they know something before they are admitted."

A few days later the writer attended a session of the Federal District Court in New York City at which more than one hundred petitions were to be passed upon. The applicant and his witnesses were sworn. The examiner, looking at a slip in his hand containing the record of the case he had made three months before, said, "Case satisfactory," the judge looked up from the papers he was reading

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and nodded his head, and the oath of allegiance was administered. After a number of cases had been disposed of in this manner, the writer left, as there promised to be nothing of interest in the day's session. This judge relied entirely upon the report of an examiner.

Another judge in this court is considered to be unduly rigorous in his requirements. Disgusted with the character of the material for citizenship presented to him on one occasion, he gave vent to his feelings in a veiled fashion by examining one of the applicants in as expansive a style and owl-like a manner as he could command.

"I assume that, like all who have preceded you, you have made an exhaustive study of the Constitution of the United States," he began, looking upon the applicant with solemn countenance. "In the course of your reading did you notice any reference to the division of the Government into three parts?"

The witness replied that he had not.

"Ah, perhaps your copy is an old edition. Does it inform you how many States there are in the Union?"

The applicant now felt himself to be on sure ground. This information was in the civic catechism he had studied.

"Forty-six," he replied, glibly.

"You confirm me in my opinion that your copy of the Constitution is an old edition. I will inform you that there are now forty-eight States in the Union. You have been in this country twenty years, and it is highly improbable that you will ever learn anything more about it. I will not accept you."

Occasionally questions are asked which would tax the knowledge of native Americans. One New York justice sitting in Manhattan is reported to have put this query:

"If the city desired to build a bridge across the North River, what would it have to do?"

"Appropriate the money and build it," was the prompt reply of the petitioner. How many Americans untrained in the law would be able to answer more accurately, or could tell off-hand wherein he erred? Comparatively few would know or recall quickly that the building of such a bridge would be an inter-State project.

These illustrations, amusing as some of them are from one point of view, all serve to show the lack of uniformity in the administration of the Naturalization Law. It must be admitted that it is much easier to say that there should be a standard by which to judge of the fitness of a given person to become a citizen than it is to provide one. What shall the standard be?

Recently the subject of restriction of immigration was discussed at a meeting of the Republican Club of New York. Among those who spoke were Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor; ex-Congressman Bennet, a member of the United States Immigration Commission; and Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. In the audience was Seth Low, at one time Mayor of New York.

"What shall be the test of admissibility?" asked Mr. Bennet as he rose upon being introduced. "As I look around me I see several persons who, if they were to appear before the inspectors at Ellis Island to be examined as to their admissibility, would be chalk-marked on the shoulder for special inquiry on the ground of disability. There is Secretary Nagel. He does not weigh enough for his height. He is six feet four, and should weigh 225 pounds. He probably weighs 160 pounds. Here is ex-Mayor Low. He wears eyeglasses and evidently has defective eyesight. Mr. Hall would have difficulty in getting in, for he is too tall for his weight and has defective vision. I myself would be certified for special inquiry."

In other words, an arbitrary standard, when applied to a type of horse or cow, or dog, may be well enough, but for measuring men will not serve.

In our latest Naturalization Law the guards thrown around the process of making citizens, in the main, are excellent. It ought, however, to be amended in one particular. The declaration of intention should be abolished for the reasons outlined. In the administration of the law there is also opportunity for improvement, as has been suggested. For such congested centers of alien population as New York it would perhaps be well for Congress to provide a special naturalization court to relieve the courts now charged

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with the duty of a task which undoubtedly retards the progress of other judicial work, and sometimes operates as a hardship on the applicant for citizenship by depriving him of a prompt decision on his application. Owing to the small staff of the Division of Naturalization, it is undoubtedly difficult in some sections to give the petitions the character of investigation they should receive.

The making of an American citizen is a momentous incident both in the life of the citizen-to-be and in that of the country. The act should be surrounded with an atmosphere of dignity and performed with a high conception of the responsibility involved. There should, of course, be a greater uniformity of opinion on the part of the judges regarding the standards to be applied in the making of American sovereigns. While the States ought not to shirk their responsibility and should be more particular in conferring the privilege of the ballot, such judges as look upon their part in the process as a routine detail in the same category as signing papers, owe it to the country and to the future citizen to make of it a more deliberate and impressive function, befitting the honor conferred.

THE MASTER BUILDER

"As he is, so are we in this world"

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

SEVENTH ARTICLE

THE GREAT CONVERSATIONALIST

CHRIST'S greatest work was done by conversation. There are not in his biographies more than four or five addresses which could by any possibility be called sermons or lectures. He talked with the people, rather than to the people. We cannot all be preachers or orators; we cannot all be writers or authors; but we can all talk with our fellowmen; and there is no way to the human heart so direct as the way of conversation, no way in which we exert so great an influence on our fellows, and none concerning which we think so carelessly, so lightly, so almost contemptuously. I write this article; it is printed in The Outlook, and goes out, and I know not who reads it, and, save in an occasional letter, get no answering response from voice or face. The author talks to his audience as one talks through a telephone, and he does not even know whether any one has the receiver at his ear at the other end or not. His personality counts for little. Only his ideas count. The speaker looks into the faces of his audience, gets from those faces an answer to his words, knows, or can know, whether his audience is attending or not attending, whether it welcomes his utterances or is hostile to them. Yet the orator is left largely to surmise or to reading an enigmatical book. The countenances of his auditors are not all telltale countenances.

But in conversation mind meets mind, soul meets soul. You give out your thought; you get back an expression of the understanding or the misunderstanding. If you are understood, you can reinforce your utterance. If you are misunderstood, you can at least try to correct the misunderstanding. The pastorate is not less important than the pulpit, if the minister is a true pastor, if he knows how to conduct a conversation. One great secret of the power of the Roman Catholic Church is the confessional, because in the confessional the priest ministers to the individual, and with at least some understanding of the individual want. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a wonderful reader of the human soul, has interpreted the true value of the confessional in portraying Hilda's anguished secret and the relief she found in her one experience in the confessional.

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I should be glad if by this article I could induce my readers to go to the Gospels and for themselves study the method, and still more the spirit, with which Christ carried on his conversations. Here a single illustration must suffice.

He is weary and footsore with his journey, sits down to rest by the side of a great well or cistern, while his disciples go into town to procure provisions. A woman comes from the village with her water-pot, and he opens the conversation with what is the surest key to a woman's heart—he asks a favor of her. "Give me a drink," he says. She draws back, astonished: "You, a Jew, ask me, a woman of Samaria, for a drink of water?" By a transition, so natural that the reader hardly realizes that it is a transition, he turns instantly from material to spiritual things: "If you knew who it was that is talking with you, you would have asked me for living water." She answers with a sarcasm: "Art thou greater than our father Jacob? Give me this living water, that I come no more here to draw." He surprises her with a summons that brings the story of her life instantly to her thought. "Go, call thy husband." "I have no husband." "Thou sayest truly, thou hast no husband. Thou hast had five husbands." She parries the thrust with a change in the conversation; she introduces a theological inquiry: "I see you are a prophet. Where should we worship, in Jerusalem or in this mountain?" A less skillful conversationalist would have pushed his apparent advantage, forced on her conscience the theme which she so warily evaded. Not so Christ. He allows her to change the topic. He has brought to her conscience the sense of her sin and will leave her to wrestle out the problem of her life for herself, while he enters through the door which she has opened into the profound theme of God and our relation to him: God is Spirit, and they that worship him in spirit and in truth are his worshipers wherever they may be. She forgets her errand, forgets Christ's thirst, forgets everything, and hurries back to the city, ordained by this brief conversation to be a missionary, the first to preach the Gospel of a Messiah in a Samaritan city.

Consider the largeness of Christ's tact. What do we mean by tact? The touch of one soul with another soul. I can talk about music a little with the musician, for I am fond of music; less about art with the artist, for I know less of art; about theology with the theologian, if we are not too far apart from one another theologically. But if I cannot talk with the car conductor, the omnibus driver, the hod-carrier, the day laborer, it is because my sympathies are narrow, my life restricted. The charge of restricted life which I am apt to make against him I really should make against myself. Christ's sympathies were catholic. He touched the souls of men because he entered through the imagination into the lives of all men.

He had a quick and ready sympathy. His soul was receptive as well as distributive. He was as quick to receive impressions as he was to give them forth. He knew what was in men, it is said. He knew because his spirit was responsive to other spirits, and this because he realized the deepest needs, the hidden life, of men, the life which they did not mean to reveal to him, the life which they did not really reveal even to themselves.

So he drew men out, inspired them to express themselves, often against their will, evoked their doubts and their difficulties. The questions which his disciples put to him are significant, not merely of their perplexity, but of his ability to induce the frank expression of their perplexities. So Peter comes to him with the question: "We have forsaken all for thee. What shall we have therefore?" And Judas, not Iscariot, "How is it thou wilt manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?" And Nicodemus with his problems in theology, and the rich young ruler with his question, "What lack I yet?" He not only draws men to him. He leads them to open their inmost thinking to him. He never breaks through their reserve, but he somehow induces them to break through that reserve themselves. He stands at the door and knocks, and men hear his voice and open the door and invite him in.

With this was another characteristic difficult to define. He lived always in the eternal world. Physical things were symbols or interpreters to him of spiritual realities. The lily spoke of spiritual

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growth, the wounded bird of a father's care, thirst and water of spiritual need and spiritual satisfaction. Most of us live in the temporal and the physical. If we wish to speak of the spiritual, we have to do it by deliberation. We drag it in from without by force of will. And so our religion seems unnatural to others because it really is unnatural to ourselves, seems artificial because it is artificially constructed, as it were, by us for the occasion. Truth cannot be brought into the court of a man's conscience as a criminal is by a policeman—handcuffed. But when a man so lives in the eternal world that everything physical suggests the eternal, the transition does not seem strained to others because it is not strained to himself. So, when Christ asks for a drink of water, the suggestion of the water of life is natural; so, when men come asking him to feed more thousands with bread, it is simple for him to speak of the bread of life.

This explains the reason why Christ was everywhere a minister to the spirits of men. He went into all homes, into every form of society, but wherever he went he carried his message of the love and forgiveness of the Father. He did this because the love and forgiveness of the Father was the uppermost theme in his mind. He was always master of the conversation. He was not carried by its drift wherever it might happen to go, but, like a skillful helmsman, guided it in whatever direction he chose. Nor did he do this by a battle. You may look into the four Gospels in vain for a debate in which Christ took part. He answered questions, but he never fenced. Not by standing for one opinion against another, not by deliberately and of set purpose preaching, but by living in the eternal world himself and yet in perpetual touch with men who were not living in the eternal world he brought the illumination and warmth of the spiritual sphere into their lives to lighten their loads, gladden their hearts, and inspire their enthusiasms.

It is largely the fault of Christians that society is so idle and inane, a round of fruitless calls and a market-place for the exchange of empty phrases. Had we the spirit of the Master, the receptive sympathy of the Master, and the tact of the Master, we should be able to vitalize these profitless exchanges of empty phrases, and make society a more eloquent minister to real life than either the pulpit or the prayer-meeting.

A PHILANTHROPY THAT PAYS DIVIDENDS

BY ADELINE HILL TICKELL

THE better housing of the poor is a problem which is engaging the earnest attention of all thinking people on both sides of the Atlantic, in the New World as well as the Old. While waiting for some big and universal scheme to be brought to fruition it is easily possible to pass over the smaller and less obtrusive possibilities that are lying around which would have a practical use as well as an educational value. An account, therefore, of a scheme which was started in quite a small way about ten years ago by the students past and present in a women's college in Dublin may serve the purpose of stimulating a similar project in other colleges.

It was in 1898 that the Alexandra College Guild Tenements Company, Ltd., was floated. It should first be explained that the Alexandra College Guild itself was started in order to "form a bond of union among past and present students of the College; to encourage the undertaking by them of useful work—literary, social, and philanthropic—and to interest them and inform them about women's work." Consequently, it was as an out-

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come of the general work of the Guild that the Tenements Company was started and registered in Dublin with a capital of £1,000, consisting of two hundred shares of £5 each. The capital (according to the last report, which is dated 1898–1908, covering the whole ten years) is now £1,335. The management of the Company is in the hands of a Board of Directors, all of whom are members of the Guild, presided over by Miss White, the Guild President, this lady being the Lady Principal of the College. At the time of its formation, it is interesting to know, this was the only public company in Great Britain or Ireland managed entirely by women.

The idea was to buy some tenement-houses, to be managed by the Company on the same lines as Miss Octavia Hill's houses in London. Two houses in Dublin were first bought, followed within six months by the purchase of three others in a different street, while in 1902 a cottage was bought at the rear of the last three houses; the final purchase was in April, 1903, when the Guild acquired yet another house adjoining the first two. The first five houses contained fifty-two rooms, and in them forty-seven families were living (two hundred human beings), the rents varying from 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week, these amounts being the rents current in the neighborhood. The object of the promoters of the Company was not so much to provide cheap dwellings as to give comfortable rooms in fairly well kept houses. In no sense, however, may the houses be regarded as model dwellings. They are well built, it is true, but they are old, and had to be adapted for the purpose for which they are now used; and they can never, therefore, compete with dwellings which have been designed with a special end in view. The Company, in fact, took "what was, and made it fair, up to their means."

It would occupy too much space to recapitulate in detail the troubles with which those eager young women had to contend. The sanitary accommodation was of the worst possible description, besides being totally inadequate; the roofs were all dilapidated, consequently a considerable sum had to be spent on putting them in order. Yet it was when all these and many other necessary improvements had been made that the real troubles began, troubles of a nature that are only too familiar to owners of tenement property. The tenants put liquids in the dust-bins, and the drain pipes appeared to them admirably suited to be the repository of old boots, broken crockery and glass, empty tins, and ashes. The drain pipes, however, strange as it appeared to the tenants, apparently resented such liberties being taken; they resented their uses being diverted, and consequently they struck work until their faithful friends the plumbers had adjusted matters. Finally, the cumbrous machinery of the law was put in motion—it may be added it still continues to revolve on occasion; the corporation prosecuted the tenants, the magistrates fined them, and the stalwart "gentlemen in blue" collected the fines.

There was always one recurring difficulty: which family or person was to blame for these irregularities? They were one and all extremely sympathetic, declaring such things to be disgraceful. But one got no "forrarder." If the matter was being discussed with Mrs. Hannigan, she would be under the impression that Mrs. Cassidy's family were to blame; then, having tentatively approached Mrs. Cassidy, it was ascertained that "Sure! didn't ivery one know that Bridget Kelly's Pat was a little divil at that sort of thing, and no one need put it past him?" and so on *ad nauseam*. It is still remembered that one woman put the stoppage of the drain pipes down to the Almighty, for she blandly informed these would-be reformers that these difficulties could not be got over, for "it was one of God's ways of afflicting the poor." If this fatalistic view was held by the majority of the tenants, it has since been abandoned, for an endless patience on the part of the rent-collectors has led to the tenants obtaining some realization of the fact that such impedimenta as above described may be fittingly bestowed elsewhere than in the drain pipes.

To return to practical methods. Two permanent rent-collectors were appointed, and two assistants to act for two months at a time and then give place to others, by which means a large number of Guild

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members could be interested in the work and become personally acquainted with the tenants. One of the two permanent rent-collectors had received special training for the management of tenement-houses by going to London and working under Miss Octavia Hill for a time. Every Monday morning the rent-collectors go round the tenements to collect the rents, when, if a tenant fails to pay without a valid reason, such as illness or death in the family, a notice to quit is served; but this notice may be withdrawn the following week if the arrears are paid and if there is no other reason for eviction. If a tenant pays regularly every Monday morning for six months, a bonus consisting of the remission of one week's rent is given, this remission being made twice in the year, at the end of June and December. The first time this regulation came into force only three tenants received the bonus, but last year no fewer than fifteen families obtained the remission. From which it may be noted that habits of thrift may be inculcated into the very poor.

When letting rooms to new tenants, there is always a difficulty in getting reliable information about them; the worse they are, the more anxious a landlord is to get rid of them, and of course it is not a matter of insuperable difficulty to get a rent-book written up in a most satisfactory manner. One man who had obtained admission in some such way had been given notice to quit for disorderly conduct both on his own part and that of his wife, who had quarreled with her neighbors above and below stairs, and had thus been the recipient of what may be described, in the words of the song, "two lovely black eyes." Eagerly and chivalrously the husband defended his wife by remarking: "Sure, that's nothing at all, Miss. Why, I gave her thim myself in the room here quite quietly!"

In order to prevent overcrowding, an incoming tenant is required to write the names, ages, and sex of her children on the application form, together with the name of any one who lives with them in what may be politely called the capacity of paying guest. The room or rooms having been allotted, it is disconcerting to find what a singularly loose grasp these people have of the science of numbers, for the return made on the form by no means coincides with the actual number of "inhabitant occupiers." When these slight errors in arithmetical calculation are pointed out, their ready wit does not fail. Thus one woman, who had overlooked the fact that she had a baby, said: "Och, sure, Miss! I mintioned meself, me husband, and the three childer, but I didn't mintion the baby, the blessed innocent, for sure if I did I'd lose him. That's the way I lost my last baby. It's most onlucky to mintion a baby, every one knows that." This "extra" was passed, but the next discovery in this family was a big boy who had been staying with his grandmother in the country, "and sure I didn't ever expect to get him back." A few days later it was ascertained that a grown-up stepson had been likewise accommodated by this hospitable but inaccurate lady; yet again she was not at a loss, for the rent-collector was at once assured that he was to be married the very next day. History does not relate whether the grown-up stepson's wife was also accommodated.

The self-constituted functions of the lady rent-collectors are of a most comprehensive character; not only have they their own duties to perform as the landladies, but they must exact from the tenants the fulfillment of theirs. An unceasing war has to be waged against dirt, drunkenness, and many other evils, all of which requires much good temper, tact, and infinite patience. The rent-collectors, as far as possible, observe the children, notice their eyes, give advice when necessary about having them straightened, or about spectacles, ask about the children going to school, inquire about illness, and, whenever practicable, arrange about a convalescent home. All this is done as unobtrusively as may be when collecting the rents.

There are many what may be called side-shows. For example, there is a play-room for the children, which is opened twice a week in the winter; there is a piano here, and the children play together under the care of a lady from the College, who regards it as her especial function to bring some joyousness into the lives of the children. There are other elements

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than that of humor in the story that is told of a small boy in the play-room who snatched a doll from his sister's hand, and, after threatening it—the doll—with the "polis" and bidding it remember "now I am your husband," enforced his marital privileges by knocking its head violently against the door.

A popular feature in the Savings Bank is that a tenant may withdraw money at a day's notice without any question being asked. The money paid as interest on these deposits is drawn from an Emergency Fund, which also helps to supplement the Coal Fund. There is an Excursion Fund for outings in the summer, and a Library, the books mostly in demand being stories with, as the advertisements say, "a strong love interest," fairy tales, and stirring tales of adventure, but "improving books" are not eagerly sought. The singing class has lately merged into a dancing class, and there is also a sewing class. Lastly, and most popular of all among the adults, is the second-hand clothing sales. These take place once a month, and there is always keen competition to secure shirts, trousers, dresses, children's garments, etc. The members of the Guild beg the clothes from their friends; they are carefully mended—for no rags are ever sold—and put into the sale. It has been found that it is better to sell the things than to give them away, for the second-hand clothes at these sales are both tidy and clean, which is more than can be said for all the second-hand clothes that are bought by the poor; very often these desirable attributes are missing, while they are by no means even second-hand. A nice sum of money is by this means acquired, which goes to pay for the excursions in the summer and for general emergencies. As a rule, the tenants do not appreciate the millinery offered at these sales; the hats are not sufficiently "spicy," and there is constant and keen regret expressed that there are no pearl necklaces to be secured. Among other items, hairpins were offered for sale, but a request was made that "curlers" should take their place.

It would seem that the writer of this article has been a sort of devil's advocate, as the information and details here given were obtained from the permanent rent-collectors and their published report. As a conclusive proof, however, that the difficulties have not deterred or disheartened the actual workers concerned or the Company as a whole, it may be added that they are yet hoping to add to their property.

Further, some of the undergraduates who were members of the Social Service Society of Trinity College, Dublin, inspired perhaps by the good work accomplished by the Alexandra College Guild Tenements Company, themselves initiated a similar company, which has now been in existence for some years. Their houses are situated in the same street and opposite three of the Alexandra College ones, and they are run on very much the same lines, with the exception that "the young gentlemen opposite," as they are called, have a resident superintendent who is always on the spot. This, of course, is an obvious advantage, but a considerable expense.

It must be remembered that these undertakings are in no sense charitable ones. The Company has paid dividends from the first; although it may be well to interpolate, to save secretarial correspondence, that the dividends paid are not likely to attract the dollars of American investors, such as Messrs. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, or other millionaires of like magnitude.

A last word. It is surely well that men and women—and young men and women, at that—should look with their own eyes into the wastes of human misery, and see for themselves the depths of human servitude, the wretchedness of little children, and the shattered health of mothers.

All this must they know, all this must they feel, "lest they forget."

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THE SPECTATOR

THE stage entrance—the stage entrance of a vaudeville house—an odd enough place for a mild-mannered, sober-going Spectator! The fact was, he had an appointment to meet a group of highly reputable and accomplished vaudeville artists—a group part sea-lions and part seals. Having watched the versatile flippered creatures behind the footlights balancing billiard-cues on their sensitive noses, he had become convinced that here was a brand of animal with which he desired better acquaintance. A note to the trainer brought an appointment for an interview. So here was the Spectator all agog for novelty.

Ushered into the half-light of the back of the great empty stage, he was at once aware of a species of dim pyrotechnics going on in the darkest corner, accompanied by a monotonous splashing. It was the sea-lions slopping about in their traveling-tank, their great eyes flaring like torches, their sinuous bodies gleaming with wet, as they dived over and under each other like so many dolphins at play. Small notice the Spectator got from these restless fellows. The star performer did pause for a second to fix him with burning eyes, then splosh! in he went again, filling the air with the Niagara-like smell of fresh water. More punctilious, a pair of serious-looking spotted seals rested their flippers on the edge of their tank and deliberately posed and stared in large-eyed innocence like a pair of Raphael cherubs. The Spectator remarked on the resemblance. The keeper's eyes twinkled. "Cherubs, is it?" he chuckled. "You watch now." With that he approached the tank. "Here, Banjo!" he called, and began fondling and complimenting one of the pair, studiously ignoring the other. Instantly the snubbed seal awoke to restless activity, beating his flippers about to attract attention. No success. Keeper went on exchanging blandishments with Banjo. Suddenly, without a change in the soft, amiable, expressionless eyes, that spotted seal dashed a flipperful of water full in the trainer's face! "Oh, yes, they're jealous as humans, or more so," commented he, quite without offense, his hand resting affectionately on the spunky creature's round head. "They're real affectionate, seals are, but not much good for tricks."

"Stupid?" queried the Spectator. The keeper shook his head. "Stumpy," was his laconic reply, and he called the Spectator's attention to the seal's short flipper. The seal is in the unfortunate position of a person done up in a sack with only his hands stuck through, his arms being bound to his sides. He's a good deal like a balloon on casters. His feet are stretched out helpless beside his tail, where they are good for swimming, but quite "footless" on land. He can only hump himself along by violent convulsions of the abdominal muscles. All this cramps his style, as the keeper went on to explain, offsetting his natural intelligence, which is considerable. Assisted by the keeper, the Spectator observed for the first time how different is the physical case of the sea-lion. With his nimble flippers, which raise him well from the ground, he can run as fast, if scarcely so gracefully, as a man. His whole body is marvelously flexible, but for vaudeville purposes his strong point is his serpent-like neck. He can lengthen it out like Alice-in-Wonderland's "curiouser and curiouser," or draw it in like a turtle retreating into his shell, or move it from side to side on his shoulders with a most fascinating wriggle. This is what makes his fame as a juggler.

During his tête-à-tête with the versatile beasts the Spectator discovered all by himself what gives the seal his air of extreme unsophistication as over against the alert, inquisitive, knowing expression of his cousin the sea-lion. Its ears! The seal keeps his—mere auditory bumps—concealed inside his head, which is as round and helpless looking as a kitten's that hasn't got its eyes open. The sea-lion, on the other hand, is furnished with a pair of short, pointed ears. In seeing this the Spectator is reminded of the plaint of an old Negro mammy of his acquaintance who has a marked aversion to a certain tailless Manx cat harbored by her mistress. "Ah don' like dat dere kind o' cat," she used to grumble. "Got no tail. Tail mightily *furnishes* cat!" That is it. What the Spectator objects to in the harmless little seals is that blank, unfurnished, Manx expression.

From his original researches into the realm of natural history the Spectator recalled himself to inquire into the unnatural education which had fitted these flippered beasts for a career on the stage. "And now," said he, nerving himself for painful disclosures, "show us the big stick." For answer the trainer silently held up a light

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wand. "Oh, come now!" expostulated the Spectator. "Not the show stick, you know. The stick that does the trick, or that makes the seal do the trick, which comes to the same thing." But the trainer would have it that pain and fear play no part in the education of his wild pupils. "Bless you!" cried he; "it wouldn't do no good to smack 'em. They'd just get scared. Awful timid things, seals." "Do you mean to say that you never fall back on blows?" queried the Spectator, still skeptical. "Only when they bite," quoth the trainer, seriously. "Sometimes one nips my finger before the footlights, and I always hit him then and there. He has to learn that isn't manners. It wouldn't do to wait and smack him afterward. The poor thing wouldn't know what it was for. His memory isn't that long. But I don't teach tricks with a stick."

"How, then?" The keeper answered in a word, "Fish." For reward—fish. For punishment—no fish. That is the whole simple, patient secret of the education of seals. By fish the timid creatures are lured from the tank down the runway to the stage—the first step in their long, long schooling. By fish held discreetly out of reach they are coaxed to mount for the first time those hard white pedestals on which later they will pose statuesquely before the footlights. Seals have naturally no sort of liking for those white boxes. Having humped themselves up on them to reach the fish, they promptly slither off again to the more congenial level of the floor. Over and over and over again the little performance has to be gone through. It is a trick which, simple as it looks, a seal never thoroughly learns. At almost every performance some forgetful beast will weary of the pedestal, spill off it in the midst of some important act, and go skylarking irresponsibly about the stage. At such times the trainer never resorts to the stick. Nor does he order the mischievous animal to its place. He ignores it. But wait. When the fish comes in and all good seals are treated to delicious titbits, the graceless romper is silently passed by.

"Do you really think," asked the Spectator, "that they know when they have been bad?" "Looks like it," said the trainer. "Last night Tosca, the star sea-lion, refused a trick. At the end of the act, when I set down the fish-tray and let the whole troupe help themselves, did Tosca try to get her share? Not she! She sat on her pedestal and barked dismally. Oh, yes, they know. . . . All the same," he went on reflectively, after a moment, "their conscience doesn't keep 'em from larkin'. Sea-lions is as bad as turtles for runnin' away. First thing every mornin' I always go to the theater to see if they've broke through their iron netting and got out. Pretty big to lose, you think? Well, I'll tell you. One morning in London three of the best sea-lions was missing. I got all the scene-shifters and stage carpenters, and we started a hunt. But it was near noon, and I was near distracted, when I heard a sneeze from somewhere up aloft that gave 'em away. They had climbed a little side staircase to the balcony and gone to sleep under the seats in an upper proscenium box. It gave me a turn to think what might have happened. Suppose after the performance had begun those fellows had woke up under the seat and commenced to bark! We'd have had a panic in the house sure as fate!"

At this point the Spectator bethought him to ask if the loss of a sea-lion would be a heavy financial blow. "Well, rather," was the laconic reply. "I wouldn't take $5,000 for Tosca. A wild sea-lion is worth $250. And after all the time you spend on 'em, like as not they'll up and die on you just when they get really valuable. They're dear to buy and dear to keep. They won't touch any but the freshest of fish, and cleaned fish at that. If they do by any chance eat anything queer, they take sick right away. . . . I always feed 'em myself and clean 'em myself. I'm as tied up as if I was nursin' twins. The other vaudeville folks are off the moment their act is over. But I can't leave. If somebody didn't feed the creatures something, somebody would be sure to talk to 'em and get 'em all mixed up."

"Mixed up?" queried the Spectator, puzzled. "Yes," said the trainer. "If you was to use my signals to the animals when they was caged and couldn't do the trick, I'd have to learn 'em all over again. I have a regular lingo of silly talk for the signals. 'Allez!' and 'Brave!' for a balky animal, and 'Ugh!' for a naughty one. You can't use silent signals with sea-lions. But they know every change in my voice. I fancy there're real fond of me," he went on, in a flattered tone. "Sometimes they'll try to hug me round the knees, and if I don't look sharp they'll knock me right off my feet."

The Spectator had been considering what nice pets for children these amiable animals

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would make. But he hastily revised his judgment upon hearing of their expense and the vehemence of their demonstrations of affection. All the same, it was a pleasant picture he carried away of these well-cared-for, untutored beasts clapping their flippers in eager anticipation of the rise of the curtain, and gently guided up the steep paths of culture by a sympathetic man who loves them.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

PROHIBITION IN MAINE[1]

The State of Maine faces the greatest issue in her history. The brewers and distillers and the whole rum syndicate of the United States and Canada center their power to remove the Amendment from our State Constitution, and so make way for local option and license. There is not a preacher who has a parish in our State, and scarcely a church member who has any intelligence on the subject, who is not opposed to the removal of the Amendment. The presidents of our colleges, all the professors and teachers in all our high schools, the State Grange (60,000 strong), nearly every branch of legitimate business, every newspaper except five Democratic papers which have been noted for years as being on the wrong side of every moral issue—all these forces are with us in favor of retaining our law in the Constitution instead of allowing the law to be a political football for every town to fight out every year or two. More than three hundred towns in Maine have never seen an open saloon, and the law is well enforced, with the exception of five or six cities (largely made up of foreigners), where the trade is driven into the slums, and the only sign of its presence is a rum-soaked bloat watching out for the approach of an officer before some old shack that would rent for nothing else but a junk-shop, tobacco and pipes in the show-window, with light drinks in sight, and a partition across the store with a door cut through—the whole thing a scene of disgust to any decent man. I have lived in Maine for sixty-three years, all my lifetime. I am a Methodist preacher, have been a member of the Maine and East Maine Conferences, a presiding elder on Bangor District and Portland District. I have traveled the length and breadth of the State. I remember the conditions when the prohibitory law was passed, when it was placed in the Constitution in 1884 by 47,000 majority, and I know that all the moral forces of our State want it to remain. To remove it and give local option would mean license to possibly five cities, one-half, if not more, foreign, and to allow said cities to damn every surrounding town. I ask you what has been gained. What the brewers, distillers, liquor-sellers, gamblers, criminals, keeper of houses of ill-fame, promoters of the white slave traffic, and all the rest of that crowd want *we do not want.*

B. C. WENTWORTH,
Norway, Maine. Pastor M. E. Church.

[1] See editorial entitled "State-Wide Prohibition."

COLLEGE ATHLETICS

In The Outlook of July 15, 1911, Mr. Gulick, in his article "The New Athletics," falls into the common error of those who criticise college athletics. On page 598 he discusses the limited number of men in college who take part in athletics, and quotes Harvard as an example, stating that about one hundred men out of four thousand students make up the intercollegiate squad. This is misleading in two particulars: first, only undergraduates are eligible on intercollegiate teams—this cuts the four thousand students down to about twenty-three hundred; second, one hundred may represent the number of men who make the teams, but it does not take into account the numbers who try for the teams and get the benefit of the training. Two years ago I made a careful investigation of the number of men who took part in athletics at Harvard and checked my results with the figures of Dr. Sargent of the number of men who took the tests in the gymnasium previously to taking part in any contest, both intercollegiate and intracollegiate. No man at Harvard is allowed to take part in any "official" games till he has passed his "strength test." I have not the detailed figures here, but the total number of men who took part in the various sports—football, baseball, rowing, track work, tennis, swimming, and basket-ball—was over fifteen hundred. You can find the detailed numbers in an article in the Boston "Transcript" of (about) November 17, 1909. A similar investigation last winter at Yale showed that something over sixteen hundred students took part in athletics there. These figures are very different from the hundred men mentioned in Mr. Gulick's article, and the

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large number certainly justifies college athletics. Without the varsity teams there would be little interest among the students in athletics, and without the gate receipts there would be no finely equipped playgrounds. However much may be said against athletics at college, it should be based on the true evils, and not on the small number of those taking part.

MORTON COLLINS STEWART.

North Bridgton, Maine.

THE PROTECTION OF ANIMALS IN NAPLES

I venture again to ask you to find room in your columns for an appeal on behalf of the Naples Society for the Protection of Animals. The work was carried on with vigor during the last year, as the following statistics will show:

Carts to which extra animals were attached, 25,668; from which drivers or passengers were made to alight, 39,897; properly balanced, 17,058; of which the load was diminished, 3,155. Confiscated sticks, stakes, goads, spikes on sides of shafts, etc., 29,656. Prosecutions for working in an unfit state, beating, starving, stabbing, driving furiously, etc., 7,219. Relieved lambs, goats, fowls, turkeys, etc., 10,287. Painlessly destroyed dogs, cats, blinded birds, 2,772. Destroyed with Behr's pistol horses, donkeys, mules, 52.

I will not trespass upon your space with further details nor harrow the feelings of your readers by accounts of the sufferings which we are constantly obliged to witness. I will only add an earnest appeal to all who sympathize with us to give us the means of carrying on our labor of love. The need is urgent, for subscriptions have lamentably fallen off for some time past, while building operations on all sides make the work of our agents more and more necessary.

Subscriptions and donations may be sent to Miss P. H. Johnston, Hon. Secretary, The Beeches, Carlisle; to Mrs. Pardington, Glynlee, Tunbridge Wells; to Mr. Percy Carew Essex, Hon. Treasurer, 103 Jermyn Street, London; to Mr. C. Calvello, Director, 2 Via Vittoria, Naples; or to myself at 7 Chiatamone, Naples.

E. L. M. (PRINCESS) MELE BARESE
(*née* Mackworth Praed),
President Naples Society, P. A.

A QUESTION IN HISTORY

In your issue of July 15 I observe an article on China by C. D. Jameson, from which I quote as follows: "For example, sixteen years ago, at the time of the Chinese-Japanese War, the Army of North China was the only force available for defense. The Quartermaster-General of all this army had held his position for some years. Through his hands passed all the army supplies, food, clothes, arms, ammunition, etc., etc. He was the one man who knew how many actual men could be put in the field and exactly what the outfit of the army was. He was a most capable man, no amount of work was too much for him, and he took charge of everything—a remarkable man, and a good Chinese scholar. Near the close of the war it was discovered that this wonderful man was a Japanese, a devoted subject of the Emperor of Japan, and that the Japanese Government had always been as well posted on the unreality of the Chinese army as had its Quartermaster-General. He had devoted years to this work for the good of Japan. He was executed, but he had made a good fight for his country, well worth the price he paid."

This statement appears to me somewhat "vigorous," as suggested in your preamble to said article. In contradiction of Mr. Jameson's statement as above I have to say that Prince Oyama, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese army at the time of the Chinese-Japanese War (1895), informed me that the Japanese Bureau of Information was very ignorant as to the condition of the Chinese army and navy. In fact, his information through the Japanese Bureau of Information was to the effect that the Chinese army was strong and efficient and that the Chinese navy was weak. His experience proved the contrary—that the Chinese army was not only weak, but inefficient; and, had he been so informed, he would have marched on Peking, instead of attacking and capturing Port Arthur, as he did.

New York City. JAMES A. SCRYMSER.

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In my article "Pageantry for Children," which was published in The Outlook for July 22, the fact should have been mentioned that "The Pageant of Patriotism," given in Brooklyn under the auspices of the ten Brooklyn Settlements, was written and produced by Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay, of New York. It was the first children's historical pageant ever given in this country, and Miss Mackay is receiving many requests to conduct similar productions in other cities, showing that this form of entertaining instruction appeals instantly to those interested in child welfare.

Miss Mackay is the author of "The House of the Heart," "The Silver Thread," and other books and plays for children, and now has in preparation several new pageants.

New York City. MYRA EMMONS.

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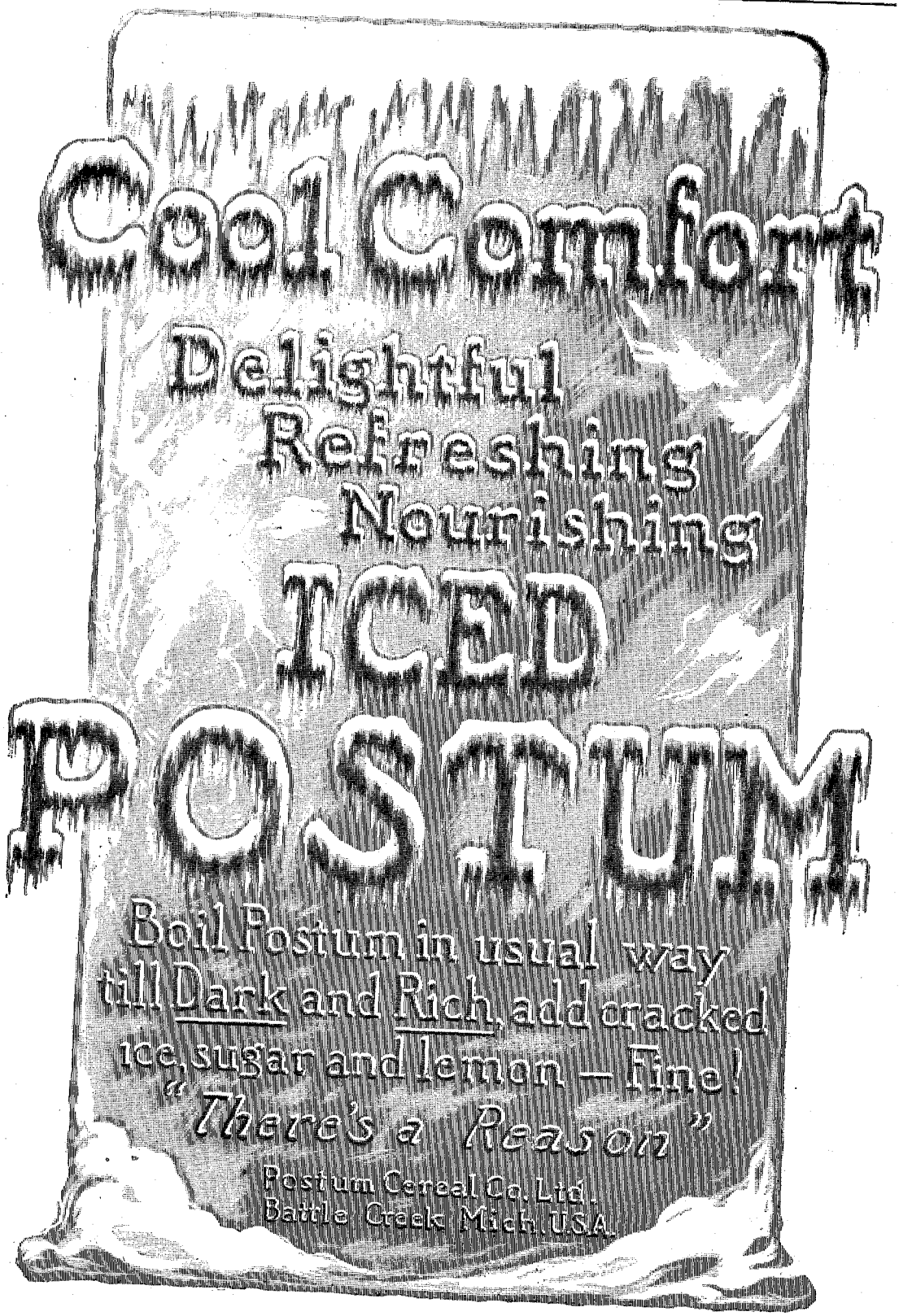

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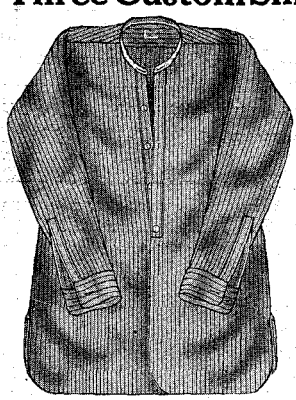

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